

MEMOIRS.

PART III.

From the
PEACE concluded 1679.

T O T H E
Time of the Author's Retirement from Publick
Business.

By Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *Baronet.*

Et Ille quidem plenus annis abiit, plenus honoribus, illis etiam quos recusavit. Plin. Epist. Lib. 2. Epist. 1.

Publish'd by Jonathan Swift, D.D.

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By W. TEMPLE BARONET.

For the edition plain and abridg'd, ple-
as the perusal, this edition does not
omit. Plain Epistle Lib. 2. Epistle 1.

Printed by J. Sturges, D.D.

L O W D O W.

Printed at BENJAMIN TOOKER
of the Temple Lane in Paris.
MDCCLXIX.

THE
PREFACE.

IT was perfectly in compliance to some Persons for whose Opinion I have great Deference, that I so long with-held the Publication of the following Papers. They seem'd to think, that the Freedom of Passages in these Memoirs, might give Offence to several who were still alive; and whose Part in those Affairs which are here related, could not be transmitted to Posterity with any Advantage to their

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Reputation. But, whether this Objection be in it self of much Weight, may perhaps be Disputed; at least it should have little with me, who am under no Restraint in that Particular; Since I am not of an Age to remember those Transactions, nor had any Acquaintance with those Persons whose Counsels or Proceedings are Condemn'd, and who are all of them now Dead.

BUT, as this Author is very free in exposing the Weakness and Corruptions of ill Ministers, so he is as ready to commend the
Abi-

THE PREFACE. iii

Abilities and Virtue of others, as may be observ'd from several Passages of these Memoirs; particularly, of the late Earl of Sunderland, with whom the Author continu'd in the most intimate Friendship to his Death; and who was Father of that most learned and excellent Lord, now Secretary of State: As likewise, of the present Earl of Rochester; and the Earl of Godolphin, now Lord Treasurer, represented by this impartial Author, as a Person at that time deservedly entrusted with so great a

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Part in the Prime Ministry; an Office he now Executes again with such universal Applause, so much to the Queen's Honour and his own, and to the Advantage of his Country, as well as of the whole Confederacy.

THERE are two Objections I have sometimes heard to have been offer'd against those Memoirs that were Printed in the Author's Life time, and which these now Publish'd may perhaps be equally liable to. First, as to the Matter; that the Author speaks too much of himself: Next, as to the Style;

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Style ; that he affects the Use of French Words, as well as some Turns of Expression peculiar to that Language.

I believe, those who make the former Criticism, do not well consider the Nature of Memoirs. 'Tis to the French (if I mistake not) we chiefly owe that manner of Writing ; and Sir William Temple is not only the first, but I think the only English-man (at least of any Consequence) who ever attempted it. The best French Memoirs are writ by such Persons as were the Principal Actors in those Transactions they pretend to relate, whether of

A 4 Wars

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Wars or Negotiations. Those of Sir William Temple are of the same Nature; and therefore, in my Judgment, the Publisher (who sent them into the World without the Author's Privity) gave them a wrong Title, when he call'd them Memoirs of what pass'd in Christendom, &c. whereas it should rather have been, Memoirs of the Treaty at Nimeguen, which was plainly the Sence of the Author, who in the Epistle tells his Son, that in Compliance with his Desire, he will leave him some Memoirs of what pass'd in his publick Employments

A-

The PREFACE. vii

Abroad; And in the Book it self, when he Deduces an Account of the State of War in Christendom, he says it is only to prepare the Reader for a Relation of that famous Treaty; where he and Sir Lionel Jenkins, were the only Mediators that continu'd any considerable Time; and as the Author was first in Commission, so in Point of Abilities or Credit, either Abroad or at Home, there was no sort of Comparison between the Two Persons. Those Memoirs therefore are properly a Relation of a General Treaty of Peace, wherein the Author had the Principal, as
well

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well as the most Honourable part, in Quality of Mediator ; so that the frequent Mention of himself, seems not only excusable but necessary. The same may be offer'd in Defence of the following papers ; because, during the greatest part of the Period they treat of, the Author was in chief Confidence with the King his Master. To which it may be added, That in the few Preliminary Lines at the Head of the first Page, the Author professes he writ those Papers for the Satisfaction of his Friends hereafter, upon the Grounds of his Retirement,
and

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and his Resolution never to meddle again with publick Affairs.

As to the Objection against the Style of the former Memoirs, that it abounds in French Words and Turns of Expression; it is to be consider'd, that at the Treaty of Nimeguen, all Business, either by Writing or Discourse, pass'd in the French Tongue; and the Author having liv'd so many Years abroad in that and former Ambassys, where all Business, as well as Conversation, ran in that Language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon publick
Af-

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Affairs without some Tincture of it in his Style ; tho' in his other Writings, there be little or nothing of it to be observ'd : And as he has often assur'd me it was a Thing he never affected ; so upon the Objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out some French Words in these, and plac'd English in their stead, tho' perhaps not so significant.

T H E R E is one thing proper to inform the Reader, why these Memoirs are call'd the Third Part, there having never been publish'd but one Part before, where in the Beginning, the Author mentions

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tions a former Part, and in the Conclusion promises a Third. The Subject of the First Part was chiefly the Triple Alliance, during the Negotiation of which my Lord Arlington was Secretary of State and chief Minister: Sir William Temple often assur'd me, he had burnt those Memoirs; and for that Reason was content his Letters, during his Ambassies at the Hague and Aix la Chapelle, should be Printed after his Death, in some manner to supply that Loss.

WHAT it was that mov'd Sir William Temple to burn those first Memoirs, may

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may perhaps be conjectur'd from some Passages in the Second Part formerly Printed: In one Place the Author has these Words, My Lord Arlington, who made so great a Figure in the former Part of these Memoirs, was now grown out of all Credit, &c. In other Parts he tells us, That Lord was of the Ministry which broke the Triple League; advis'd the Dutch War and French Alliance; and in short, was at the bottom of all those Ruinous Measures which the Court of England was then taking; so that, as I have been told from a
good

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good Hand, and as it seems very probable, he could not think that Lord a Person fit to be celebrated for his Part in forwarding that famous League while he was Secretary of State, who had made such Counterpaces to destroy it. At the End I have subjoyn'd an Appendix, containing besides one or two other Particulars, a Speech of Sir William Temple's in the House of Commons, and an Answer of the King's to an Address of that House, relating to the Bill of Exclusion, both which are mention'd in these Memoirs.

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I have only further to inform the Reader, that altho' these Papers were Corrected by the Author, yet he had once intended to insert some Additions in several Places, as appear'd by certain Hints or Memorandums in the Margin; but whether they were omitted out of forgetfulness, neglect, or want of Health, I cannot determine: One Passage relating to Sir William Jones he was pleas'd to tell me, and I have added it in the Appendix. The rest I know nothing of; but the Thread of the Story is intire without'em.

JONATHAN SWIFT.

M E-

MEMOIRS.

PART. III.

*Written for the Satisfaction
of my Friends hereafter,
upon the Grounds of my Re-
tirement and Resolution
never to meddle again with
any Publick Affairs from
this present February,
168^o.*

UPON my Return from
Nimeguen to the Hague,
after the Emperor's Am-
bassadors having Sign'd the Peace,
B the

the King signified His Pleasure to me, by a Letter from my
 * *Earl of Danby, now Duke of Leeds.* Lord * Treasurer, that he would have me come over to enter into the Secretary's Office in Mr. COVENTRY'S Room, according to the Resolution he had taken the Year before, when he sent for me over into *England* from *Nimieguen* to that purpose.

I sent my humble Acknowledgments to the King, in my Answer to the Lord Treasurer's Letter; but withall, my humble Excuses for not putting His Majesty upon the Use of an old beaten Horse, in such hard Service as I took that Station then to be; and propos'd my Colleague, Sir LIONEL JENKINS, for that purpose. And having long promis'd the Great Duke, that I would
 make

M E M O I R S. 3

make him a Visit at *Florence*, if I liv'd : I turn'd my Thoughts wholly to get leave for that Journey, as soon as the Congress at *Nimeguen* should wholly break up, as it was like to do some time that Spring, 1678.

THIS gave some Respite at Court to the Resolutions of my Return, and an Overture for Sir LIONEL JENKINS's coming over in my Room ; so that I prepar'd for a short Return to *Nimeguen*; when most unexpectedly came a Yacht to *Rotterdam*, with Letters from my Lord Treasurer, and from the Earl of SUNDERLAND, who had newly succeeded Sir JOSEPH WILLIAMSON. And in both those Dispatches, there was a positive Command from the King, for my immediate Repair into *England*, in or-

der to my entring upon the Secretary's Office.

THE King writ the same thing at the same time to the Prince, and gave him leave to acquaint the States with it, which he did as a Thing he thought they would be pleas'd with (as he was himself, and indeed all my Friends); Tho' while I was forc'd to stay at the *Hague*, about a Fortnight before my Imbarking, they all found me in very different Thoughts, both upon my Discourses and my Letters; Infomuch that the Prince told me, he look'd upon it as a piece of Predestination, that I should be Secretary of State at last, in spite of all I had done so long to avoid it.

U P O N my Arrival in *Eng-land*, I met with the most surprising Scene that ever was: The long Parliament dissolv'd, and the Resolution taken for the Duke's going into *Holland*, and that he was to part next Day: So that I had only one Occasion of speaking to him; when he told me with great Freedom the Paces that had been made towards that Resolution, much against his own Opinion, and bid me remember what he foretold me, That however this was thought likely to stop the violent Humour then rais'd by the *Plot*, yet, I should see it would go on next to my Lord Treasurer's Ruin, though he did not expect it,

W H E N the Duke was gone, and the King had told me with

the greatest Kindness that could be, of his Resolution to have me Secretary ; and that I had no Reason to take it well, because he knew not one Man besides in *England* that was fit for it upon Mr. COVENTRY's Removal ; And on the other Side, my Friends had told me, they had the Money ready for me to lay down, which was Five Thousand Pounds ; I began to consider the Ground, and the Journey, and my own Strength to go through with it. I found nothing so necessary for His Majesty's Affairs Abroad, and those of Christendom, as Great Union at Home ; which might enable Him to make such a Figure as the Preservation of his Allies requir'd ; and indeed the general Interest of Christendom ; which seem'd to depend wholly upon his Majesty's Measures.

tures. On t'other Side, I never saw greater Disturbance in Mens Minds at Home, than had been rais'd by the *Plot*, and the Pursuit of it in the Parliament; and observ'd, that tho' it was generally believ'd by both Houses, by City and Country, by Clergy and Laity; yet when I talk'd with some of my Friends in private, who ought best to know the bottom of it, they only concluded that it was yet *Mysterious*; that they could not say the King believ'd it; but however that the Parliament and Nation were so generally and strongly possess'd with it, that it must of Necessity be pursued as if it were true, whether it was so or not: And that without the King's Uniting with his People upon this Point, he would never grow either into

Ease at Home, or Consideration
Abroad.

UPON Three Days Thought of this whole Affair, I concluded it a Scene unfit for such Actors as I knew my self to be; and resolv'd to avoid the Secretary's Place, or any other publick Employment at Home, my Character Abroad still continuing. This I acquainted my nearest Friends with; order'd the Money to be return'd, which had been provided by them; and fell into the Consultations how I might get off this Point, without any thing that might appear Undutiful or Ungrateful to His Majesty.

THE Elections were Canvassing for a new Parliament, and I order'd my Pretentions so as they came to fail. In the mean time
I

I defer'd my entring into the Secretary's Place, till I might likewise enter into the House of Commons, which both His Majesty and Lord Treasurer were satisfied with, though not Lord SUNDERLAND. But when that Parliament was chosen, and I not of the House; I represented to His Majesty how unfit it was to have a Parliament meet without his having one Secretary of the House of Commons, and how useful Mr. COVENTRY would be to Him there; and so obtain'd a Respite till I could be chosen of the House; which was endeavour'd upon each doubtful Election, especially that at *Windsor*, but however could not be carry'd.

THE short Parliament met, with the Disputes between the Court and the Commons about the

the Speaker, begun indeed upon a Pique between the Treasurer

and Mr. * SEYMOUR,
 * *After-*
wards Sir or rather between my
 Edw. Sey- Lady DANBY and him.
 mour.

However it was, this soon ran the House into such Violences against my Lord Treasurer, as ended in his Ruin; first by the King's sudden Resolution to remove him; then by the Commons continuing their Pursuits and Impeachments; and last by his Lordship's first concealing, and then producing himself in the Face of this Storm, which ended in the Tower.

AFTER these Heats of the Commons, which encreas'd into new Measures and Motions among them, as they were sway'd by popular Humours upon the Plot, and many new Plots lay'd by

by the Ambitions of private Persons, carry'd on under Covert of the other; I never saw any Man more sensible of the miserable Condition of his Affairs, than I found His Majesty upon many Discourses with him, which my Foreign Employments and Correspondences made way for. But nothing he said to me mov'd me more, than when upon the sad Prospect of them all, he told me, he had none left, with whom he could so much as speak of them in Confidence, since my Lord Treasurer's being gone. And this gave, I suppose, His Majesty the Occasion of entring into more Confidence with me, than I could deserve or expect.

ON the other Side I found, that the Counsel of my Lord
Trea-

Treasurer's Removal, had been carry'd on by the Duke of MONMOUTH, in Conjunction with the Dutches of PORTSMOUTH and Lord ESSEX, who was then in the greatest Confidence with the Duke of MONMOUTH, and by Him and Lord SUNDERLAND newly brought into the Treasury. I found my Lord SUNDERLAND at least in compliance with this Knot, and that all were resolv'd to bring my Lord SHAFTSBURY again into Court, who was in Confidence with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord ESSEX, and had a near Relation to Lord SUNDERLAND. I observ'd the great Affection His Majesty had to the Duke of MONMOUTH, and saw plainly the Use his Grace intended to make of it, in case he could introduce a Ministry at his own Devotion,

or

or in his Interests: And this being a Matter that might concern the very Succession of the Crown, and not only an Injury to the Duke, but through him to his Children, and the Prince of ORANGE; I resolv'd first, if it were possible, to break the Growth of that Ministry, though I saw no Men whom I could design to fix in it, with any Satisfaction or Advantage to the King or his Service.

ON t'other side, I observ'd the Parliament to grow every Day more Violent, upon the Support they receiv'd from the Humours rais'd by the Plot, and the Incentives given them by the Ambitions of Persons playing that Game. I saw a probability of Matters growing to such a Pass, that His Majesty might be forc'd to part
with

with them ; and yet I saw not Authority enough left in the Crown either to do That without the venture of great Mischiefs, or to live without another Parliament till the present Humours might cool. And both these Considerations meeting together, cast me upon the Thoughts of the King's Establishing a new Council, of such a Constitution as might either gain Credit enough with the present Parliament, by taking in so many Persons of those who had Most among them, and thereby give Ease and Quiet both to the King and his People ; Or, if on the other side, the Humours should grow Outragious and beyond Opposing, the King might yet at the Head of such a Council, with more Authority and less Hazard of ill Consequences, either Pro-
 rogue or Dissolve them, as any
 Ne-

Necessities of his own, or Extravagancies of theirs should require.

F O R these Ends it seem'd necessary to take into the Council some Lords and Commoners, who were of most appearing Credit and Sway in both Houses, without being thought either Principled or Interested against the Government; and mix them with others of His Majesty's more General Choice, for making up one Half of the Council: whilst the other Half being Fifteen, were ever to be the present chief Officers of his Crown and Household: Who being all of His Majesty's known Trust, as well as Choice, would be sure to keep the Council Steddy to the true Interest of His Majesty and the Crown.

BUT

BUT one chief Regard necessary to this Constitution, was That of the personal Riches of this new Council; which in Revenues of Land or Offices, was found to amount to about Three Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year: Whereas those of a House of Commons are seldom found to have exceeded Four Hundred Thousand Pounds. And Authority is observed much to follow Land: And at the worst, such a Council might out of their own Stock, and upon a Pinch, furnish the King so far, as to relieve some great Necessity of the Crown.

THIS whole Matter was consulted and deduc'd upon Paper, only between the King and me, and lasted in the Debate and Digestion about a Month: But
when

when the Forms and Persons were agreed, and His Majesty seem'd much satisfied with the Thing, and resolv'd to go on with it, I humbly desired Him not to take a Resolution of that Importance, without first communicating it to Three or Four Persons of those His Majesty could most rely upon in Point of Judgment, Secrecy, and Affection to His Service. The King resolv'd I should go and Communicate the whole Scheme, with all the Particulars of it, to my * Lord Chan-
* FINCH.
cellor, Lord SUNDERLAND, and Lord ESSEX; but, one after another; and with Charge from Him of the last Secrecy; and should bring him Word of their Opinions upon it; and if they concurr'd with His, should appoint them to attend His Majesty next Morning; the Chancellor only entring into
C
his

his Lodgings by the Common Way, but the other Two and I by the private One below.

W H E N I acquainted them with it, they all receiv'd it with equal Amazement and Pleasure. My Lord Chancellor said, it look'd like a Thing from Heaven fallen into His Majesty's Breast: Lord ESSEX, that it would leave the Parliament and Nation in the same Dispositions to the King which he found at his Coming in: And Lord SUNDERLAND approv'd it as much as any.

N E X T Day we attended His Majesty, and had a very long Audience, upon which no Difficulty arose but Two that were wholly Personal. I had propos'd Lord HALLIFAX as one of the

the Lords, whom the King had indeed Keck'd at in our first Consultations, more than any of the rest: But upon several Representations, of his Family, his Abilities, his Estate and Credit, as well as Talent to Ridicule and Unravel whatever he was spited at, I thought His Majesty had been contented with it: But at this Meeting, he rais'd new Difficulties upon it, and appear'd a great while invincible in them, though we all join'd in the Defence of it: And at last, I told the King, we would fall upon our Knees to gain a Point that we all thought necessary for his Service: And then His Majesty consented.

THE other was concerning Lord SHAFTSBURY, who had never been mention'd in our first

Debates; and the King either had not thought of Him before upon this Affair, or had not mention'd Him to me, as knowing upon all Occasions of private Discourse with His Majesty, what Opinion I had of that Lord. But after my Lord HALLIFAX had pass'd, the King said there was another, who if he were left out might do as much Mischief as any, and named Lord SHAFTSBURY; to which the other Three agreed, and concluded farther, that he would never be content with a Councillor's Place among Thirty, and therefore it was propos'd to add one to the Number by making a President, which should be he. I disputed this Point from the first Mention to the last Conclusion of it, foretelling he would destroy all the Good that we expected

pected from the whole Constitution; and said all that I could with so much Earnestness, that when by His Majesty's agreeing with the other Three, I saw it would be concluded, I walk'd away to the other End of the Room, not knowing well whether I should have gone out or not, if the Door had been open; but turning again, I desir'd His Majesty to remember, that I had no part in Lord SHAFTSBURY'S coming into His Council or His Affairs; that His Majesty and the other Three Lords had resolv'd it without me; and that I was still absolutely against it. The King Laugh'd, and turn'd my Anger into a Jest; and so went on with the rest of the Constitution intended, till the whole was re- solv'd and executed publickly in Easter 1679.

THE Night before the Thing was to be done, His Majesty thought fit to tell it the Duke of MONMOUTH; having kept it Secret till then, further than to the Four already named. But as soon as the Duke of MONMOUTH knew, though only in general, that the Council should be chang'd, he told it so many, that it was common Talk next Morning; which we interpreted either Lightness or Vanity, to have it thought that he had part in an Affair likely to pass so well. And indeed when the Thing was done in the Forms that are known, it was receiv'd with general Applause in the Country, with Bonfires in the City, and the same in *Ireland*: In *Holland* the Actions of the *East-India* Company rose upon it immediately,

mediately, and very much; and the States design'd one of their best and most considerable Men, Monsieur VAN LEWEN, to come over Minister into *England* upon this Occasion. *France* alone was unsatisfy'd with it, and Monsieur BARILLON said it was making *des Etats* [States], and not *des Conseils* [Councils]; but the Reasons were easy to see, and so not much consider'd.

THE House of Commons receiv'd it with most Coldness, where the contrary was most expected: And the pretending Knowers among them, who were not of the Council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new Revelations, to doubt it might be a new Court Juggle, and to refer it to Time to tell what it was in truth; In the mean

while to suspend their Judgements.

THIS was the first Effect of my Lord SHAFTSBURY's good Meaning to the King and his Affairs, into which he was entred, but not with the personal or transcendent Credit he aim'd at with His Majesty, and which he thought those who had been Authors of this new Constitution, had the greatest Share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the Duke of MONMOUTH, and use all their Endeavours to raise such Discontents and Heats in the Houses, upon the Apprehensions of Popery, and Propositions to prevent it, that the King found himself soon upon as uneasy Terms with this Session of Parliament, as he had been with the last; the Humours being engaged by my Lord

Lord SHAFTSBURY's pretending among his Patriots, that the Duke of MONMOUTH had so much Credit with the King, that His Majesty desir'd but a good Occasion of consenting to all the Parliament should insist on, which would be given Him by their Heat and Obstinacy in so popular a Point as that against Popery : And if that were once gain'd, the Duke of MONMOUTH and He should be able to Steer all the rest, to the Satisfaction of those who call'd themselves the *Good* or the *Honest* Party.

SUCH a Mischief could never have grown, if Lord SHAFTSBURY had not work'd himself up into Credit, both in Parliament and City, by the Appearance of having it with the King and in the Council where he was President ;

dent; and by the Infusions given of his having or growing yet into greater, by a more secret Spring, which was the Interest of the Duke of MONMOUTH, and the Kindness of His Majesty Increasing, as appear'd since the Duke's Absence. I cannot believe but all this would have been avoided, if, upon the new Constitution, Lord SHAFTSBURY had been left out, as a Person mark'd by His Majesty, and never to enter more into his Affairs or Confidence; which the whole Course of his Life, from his very first Entrance upon publick Stages, if examin'd never so strictly, would have given good Ground for. But this Fate, as I could not prevent by all my Endeavours, so I had foretold it His Majesty the Year before: When upon my coming over, the King had fallen

len into all the violent Expressions that could be against him ; I told His Majesty, that with his good Leave, I would hold any Wager, I should yet see that Lord again in his Business ; and when the King ask'd me what made me think so, I said, because I knew he was restless while he was out, and would try every Door to get in ; had Wit and Industry to find out the Ways ; and when Money would Work, had as much as any Body to bestow, and Skill enough to know where to place it.

THIS Turn in the King's Affairs upon this new Constitution, gave me so great a Vexation, and so ill a Prospect, that having delay'd the Time prescribed for every Man's receiving the Sacrament according to Law, after

ter his Entrance into publick Employment, till it was very near expired ; I once resolv'd, by that Omission, to make my self absolutely incapable of bearing any for the future : And was not perswaded to lay aside that Thought, till after long Debates upon it with my Wife and Sister here at *Sheen* : But that Matter pass'd in Form, and I continued barely of the Council, with a Resolution of not entring upon the Secretary's Office, though often and earnestly urg'd to it by Lord SUNDERLAND, with others of my Friends.

UPON the new Constitution of the Council, my Lord SUNDERLAND had, by Mr. SYDNEY, desir'd that we Two might joyn together in perfect Confidence, and distinct from any others

thers in the Course of the King's Affairs, whether I would enter into the other Secretary's Office or not ; which I said I was very willing to embrace, though I knew no Need of it, considering how much the general Affairs were devolv'd upon the Council or the particular Committees, and how much I thought it was fit that they should continue so, without running into any private Channels. This Confidence had not run on above a Fortnight, when my Lord SUNDERLAND ask'd me, if I were willing my Lord ESSEX should be receiv'd into it ; which I consented to, though with Intimation to Lord SUNDERLAND of the Opinion I had (for some time of late) of Lord ESSEX, whom I thought I knew better than he did. So we met for a while once a Day
by

by Turns, at each of our Houses, and consulted upon the chief Affairs that were then on the Anvil, and how they might be best prepar'd for the Parliament or the Council: But Matters growing very untoward, by the Practices of Lord SHAFTSBURY, with the Duke of MONMOUTH'S Cover at least, and upon the ill Humour of the House of Commons about the Business of Religion; and my Lord HALLIFAX appearing unsatisfy'd, by observing where the King's Confidence was; I propos'd to my Lords SUNDERLAND and ESSEX, to receive him into all our Consultations; which I thought would both enter him into Credit with the King, and give us more Ease in the Course of his Affairs. Lord ESSEX receiv'd this Overture with his usual Dryness;

ness; Lord SUNDERLAND oppos'd it a good deal, and told me, I should not find Lord HALIFAX the Person I took him for, but one that could draw with no Body, and still climbing up to the Top himself. However, I continued Resolute in pressing it, and so at length the Thing was concluded, and we fell all Four together into the usual Meetings and Consultations.

THE chief Matters that lay before the King at that time, were; first, the Satisfaction of his People, by falling into some Measures with the Parliament, that might enable him to look Abroad in such a Figure as became the Crown of *England*, and was necessary for preventing the common Fears of a new Invasion of *France* upon *Flanders* or *Holland*, which look'd

look'd very Desperate, without some strong and resolute Protection from *England*.

THE Second, was, a Resolution to be taken in Answer to the Instances made by Monsieur VAN LEWEN from the States, about a new Guaranty to be given upon the late General Peace by His Majesty; particularly to *Spain* in the Business of *Flanders*.

THE Third, was, the giving some Ease to *Scotland*, where the Humours began to swell about this time; and which we conceiv'd could be no way done so easily, as by removal of the Duke of LAUDERDALE; a Man too much Hated both here and there, to be fit for the Temper

per His Majesty seem'd resolv'd to use in his Affairs.

FOR this Last, we could not upon any Terms obtain it of the King, by all the Arguments us'd (both joyntly and severally) by us all Four; the King's Defence being a very true one, that we none of us knew Scotland so well as His Majesty Himself.

FOR the Second, we easily agreed upon the Measures that seem'd necessary for the Satisfaction of the States, and the Safety of Flanders; being all Four of the Committee, where all the Foreign Affairs were consulted; and taking the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY into the First Digestion of this Treaty with Holland, at a Meeting for that purpose, at my Lord HAL-

D

LIFAX'S

OUR ALX's House; which was the
 only time I ever had Any Thing
 to do; or so much as Talk, with
 my Lord SHAFTSBURY, fur-
 ther than the Council Chamber.
 AND FOR the First thing, which
 was the most Important, we found
 it more perplex'd than we could
 imagine. Both Houses of Par-
 liament seem'd to have no Eyes,
 but for the Dangers of Popery
 upon the Duke's Succession to
 the Crown; which Humour was
 blown up by all the Arts and
 Intrigues of the Duke of MON-
 MOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBU-
 RY. The King seem'd willing to
 secure them all that could be a-
 gainst those Fears, without chang-
 ing the Laws in Point of Succes-
 sion. The House of
 Commons were busie
 in finding out Expedients to se-
 cure

cure this Point, but could agree on none; being still diverted from fixing on any, by Lord SHAFTSBURY's Practices. The Council fell upon the same Scent with great Earnestness and Endeavour; and after much Hammering, agreed upon many Heads to be offer'd the Parliament, which are commonly enough known.

THESE Expedients were agreed to by all the Council, except my Lord SHAFTSBURY and me; who were against them, upon very different Grounds. Mine were Two; First, because I believ'd, that nothing that came First from the King upon these Points, would be accepted by the Commons; who if they would be satisfy'd at all, I thought should First agree upon What, and leave it to the King to take

or refuse. The Second was, that as I did not see any certain Ease these Expedients would give the King, though agreed to by the Houses; so it was evident to all Men, that they would leave the Crown after Him in Shackles, which put on upon the Duke's Occasion, and in his Time, would not be easily knock'd off by any Successor. My Lord SHAFTS-BURY's Ground was plain, and so express'd by him upon all Occasions; which was, that there could be no Security against the Duke, if once in Possession of the Crown: And this being well infus'd by his and the Duke of MONMOUTH's Friends into the House of Commons, occasion'd their sullen rejecting all the Expedients offer'd them by the King, and lay'd the Foundation for the proceedings of the late House of Com-

Commons, and the strange Disorders wherein they have left Affairs at Home, and thereby the desperate Condition of Affairs Abroad.

DURING all these Transactions, the Three Lords and I continued our constant Meetings and Consultations; and with so much Union, and so disinterested Endeavours for the General Good of His Majesty's Service and the Kingdom's, that I could not but say to them, at the end of one of our Meetings, That we Four were either the Four honestest Men in *England*, or the greatest Knaves; for we made one another at least believe, that we were the honestest Men in the World.

BUT this Conjunction held not long: For, after the Houses

rejecting the Expedients offer'd by the King and Council, my Lord SHAFTSBURY finding himself neither in Confidence with the King, nor Credit in the Council, turn'd all his Practices and Hopes to the House of Commons, and inflam'd them to that Degree, as made the Three Lords of my Commerce begin to grow uneasy, and to cast about which way they might lay this Storm. At length my Lord SUNDERLAND told me, that Lord ESSEX and Lord HALLIFAX were of Opinion, that it was necessary to take in the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY into the First Digestion of Affairs, considering the Influence they had upon the House; and for this End to agree with them in the Banishment of the Duke, either for a certain Term,
or

or during the King's Life; and desir'd to know whether I would fall into it with them, and joyn in bringing it about with the King. I told my Lord SUNDERLAND positively I would not: For, First, I would never have any Thing to do with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY; and next, I would never enter into Matters of Difference between the King and his Brother; having upon several Occasions told them both, that I would ever do all I could towards the Union of the whole Royal Family; but never would have any Thing to do in the Divisions of it; and no Man should ever Reproach me with breaking my Word, and much less the King or the Duke.

THIS was peremptory, and so it ended ; and thereupon the Three Lords fell into Meetings and Consultations with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY; which I knew nothing of, and began to come less to Council, and to meet no more with my usual Company but upon Occasion, and without the First Confidence ; but we still continued our Kindness wherever we met, without my enquiring, or they communicating what past in their new Consultations.

BUT this lasted not long neither : For within a Fortnight or little more, they began to find the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY unreasonable, and like to prevail upon the
House

House of Commons, to endeavour bringing the King into Necessities of yielding all Points to them, and thereby leaving the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY absolutely at the Head of all Affairs; so that the Three Lords began to make their Complaints of it, and to fall upon the Thoughts of Proroguing the Parliament, as the only Remedy left in the present Distemper. I agreed with them in this Overture, and the rather because I foresaw it would absolutely break the Three Lords from all Commerce with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY: And so we agreed to propose it to His Majesty, and that it should be debated and resolv'd at Council; where the chief Officers depending upon the King, being one Half of the Council,

and

and joining with others of us that were of his more indifferent Choice, we concluded the Resolution could not fail to be taken by the Majority of the Council; if the Reasons and Necessity of it should not prevail with some of those who seem'd most in my Lord SHAFTSBURY's Confidence, to leave him upon this Occasion. And in this Resolution we parted, and appointed to meet again Two Days after for the fixing it with His Majesty; upon my engaging to go for so long down into the Country, where I stay'd my Two Days, and came up the Third Morning early.

U P O N my Arrival, I found my Lord SUNDERLAND had call'd or sent several times to my House the Night before, and
left

left Word that he must needs speak with me so soon as I came to Town. I sent immediately to *Whitehall*, but found his Lordship was gone already with the King to the House of Lords; whereupon I went to Lord ESSEX who was nearest me, and ask'd whether any thing new had happen'd. He told me that the King had found out, there were Remonstrances ready prepar'd in the House of Commons, to inflame the City and Nation upon the Points of Plot and Popery; and that their Three Lordships having upon it consulted with His Majesty, he had resolv'd the Parliament should be Prorogued that Morning, upon the King's coming to the House, and that it could not be allow'd Time or Vent by a Debate of Council; which for my part, I thought
an

an ill Omission, and that it ought to have the Authority of the King with Advice of his Council, according to the usual Forms: But it pass'd otherwise, and with very great Resentment of both Houses; and such Rage of my Lord SHAFTSBURY, that he said upon it aloud in the House, that he would have the Heads of those who were the Advisers of this Prorogation.

DURING this Session of Parliament, I had several Notices given me, of a Practice set on Foot in the House of Commons, for Impeaching me, as one that had been an Instrument of making the general Peace; and this was urg'd by Stories, of being a Man of Arbitrary Principles, and one that had written several Things, though without Name, against
the

the Constitution of Parliaments, and in Favour of Popery: And this went so far, that Mr.

MOUNTAGUE went a ^{* Late} ^{Duke of} great Way from Man to Mountague.

Man in the House, to know whether if such an Accusation were brought in, they would be against me. Several went into it upon Hatred to the late Treasurer, whose Friend they took me to be, and upon Envy at my being design'd for Secretary of State; but yet in no such Numbers that Mr. MOUNTAGUE could hope to make any Thing of it: And when some of my Friends acquainted me with it, I only desir'd them to obtain leave of the House, that I might hear my Accusation at the Bar of the House, and assur'd them that I should be glad to have that Occasion of telling there both Mr. MOUN-

TAGUE'S

46 M E M O I R S.

TAGUE's Story and my own. This fell; But upon the Knowledge of these Practices, my Lord

** Late Earl of Rum-* SUNDERLAND, and Mr. ** SYDNEY*, who
ney.

thought that a Man who had such part in the King's Affairs, ought to stand as well as he could with the House of Commons, press'd me to suffer several small Things I had formerly Written, and of which Copies had run, to be then Printed, as they were, under the Title of *Miscellanea*. They thought, by that Publication, Men would see, I was not a Man of the dangerous Principles pretended; and I might assure the World, of being Author of no Books that had not my Name. The thing seem'd to pass well enough; only Lord HALLIFAX commending them to me in General, told me as a Friend,

Friend, that I should take heed of carrying too far that Principle of Paternal Dominion, (which was deduc'd in the Essay of Government,) for fear of destroying the Rights of the People. So tender was every Body of those Points at that time.

THE Three Lords and I went on unanimous in our Consultations; considering how to make way for a calmer and better temper'd Session of Parliament, after the short Prorogation which had been made. To which purpose, we again endeavour'd the removal of the Duke of LAUDERDALE, or at least the admission of other Nobles of Scotland into those Affairs. We concluded the Measures with Holland in all Points, to the Satisfaction of their Ambassador; and thought of

of such Acts of Council, as might express His Majesty's Care for suppressing Popery, even in the Intervals of Parliament. We only disagreed in one Point, which was the leaving some Priests to the Law upon the Accusation of being Priests only, as the House of Commons had desired; which I thought wholly unjust, without giving them publick Warning by Proclamation, to be gone, or expect the Penalties of Law within such a Time; since the Connivances had lasted now through Three Kings Reigns: Upon this Point, Lord HALLIFAX and I had so sharp a Debate at Lord SUNDERLAND's Lodgings, that he told me if I would not concur in Points which were so necessary for the People's Satisfaction, he would tell every Body I was a Papist: And upon his Affirming,
that

that the Plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it were so or not, in those Points that were so generally believ'd by City or Country as well as both Houses; I reply'd, with some Heat, that the Plot was a Matter long on Foot before I came over into *England*; that to understand it, one must have been here to observe all the Motions of it; which not having done, I would have nothing to do with it; In other Things I was content to joyn with them, where they thought I could be of Use to the King's Service; and where they thought there was none, I was very willing to be excus'd; and very glad to leave His Majesty's Affairs in so good Hands as theirs.

E NOT-

NOTWITHSTANDING
 some such Differences between me
 and the Three Lords, yet we
 continued our Consultations and
 Confidence ; and Two of them,
 Lord SUNDERLAND and HAL-
 LIFAX, press'd me extremely a-
 bout this time to come into the
 Secretary's Place. Lord HAL-
 LIFAX, particularly, offering to
 bring it to a Point with his Un-
 cle GOVENTRY upon the Mo-
 ney that was to be paid ; pretend-
 ing to be very desirous to see me
 posted there ; and professing to
 grow weary of the Business, since
 he could find no Temper like to
 grow in the next Session of Par-
 liament between the King and
 them. For since the last Proro-
 gation, Lord SHAFTSBURY
 had been busie in preparing Few-
 el for next Session, not without
 per-

perpetual Appearance of ill Humour at Council, which broke into spiteful Repartees often betwixt him and Lord HALLIFAX. And on t'other Side, the Duke of MONMOUTH had broken all Measures with Lord ESSEX, with whom he had been long in the last Confidence: So as this grew to a spighted Quarrel between these Four; and though commonly smother'd when they met, yet not without Smoak appearing where they were observ'd.

IN this Condition of Affairs, the Rebellion in Scotland broke out; upon which it was pleasant to observe the Counter-paces that were made. The King was for suppressing it immediately, by Forces from hence to be dispatch'd and joyn'd with those in Scotland, and the Duke

of MONMOUTH to go and Command them all. Lord SHAFTSBURY shew'd plainly at Council, and in other Places, that he was unwilling this Rising should be wholly or too soon suppress'd, or otherwise than by his Friends in Scotland, who might be thereby introduc'd into the Direction of Affairs there, with the Removal of the Duke of LAUDERDALE: Yet on the other Side, he was willing to see the Duke of MONMOUTH grow great by such a Command of the King's Forces both *English* and *Scotch*; and agreed with that Duke, to put the King upon another Project at the same time, and to the same end, which was (upon the Duke of MONMOUTH's carrying so many of the Forces here into Scotland) to raise a Troop of Two Hundred Gentlemen for the

the Guard and Safety of the King's Person, whereof the Duke of MONMOUTH to be Captain; and which was to be compos'd chiefly of Officers who were out of Employment, and whose Merits were best known to the Duke of MONMOUTH.

ON t'other Side, Lord ESSEX, though he agreed with the King's Opinion, to have the Scotch Insurrection suppress'd; yet he had a mind it should be done by the Scotch, to prevent the Duke of MONMOUTH's growing greater than he yet was by that Command; especially if it should be follow'd with Success. And tho' he would not oppose his Majesty in his Resolution of sending the Duke of MONMOUTH upon this Expedition; yet he did very openly the other Design, which

54 MEMOIRS.

the King himself seem'd much bent upon, as well as the Duke of MONMOUTH, to raise the Troop of Two Hundred Gentlemen. The other Two Lords and I fell in with him in this last ; though Lord ESSEX was most Instrumental in breaking it, by raising invincible Difficulties in the Treasury, where he was at the Head : So as upon Composition, Money was found for the Duke of MONMOUTH'S marching into Scotland, and with great Ease to him in his Personal Pretensions ; and the new Troop was let fall upon want of Money.

The Duke of MONMOUTH went into Scotland ; succeeded ; took the Body of Rebels ; suppress'd absolutely the Rebellion ; order'd the Punishment of some ;
gave

gave Pardon to the rest ; return'd in Triumph ; was receiv'd with great Applauses and Court from all ; and with great Appearance of Kindness and Credit by the King, who was now remov'd to *Windsor*, and the Council to *Hampton-Court*, where the Duke of **MONMOUTH** was receiv'd.

THE Term of the Prorogation of Parliament drew near expiring ; and all agreed that a Session could not conveniently begin before *October* ; and a Day was appointed for considering that Matter at Council. The Duke of **MONMOUTH** was greater than ever : Lord **SHAFTSBURY** reckon'd upon being so too, upon the next Meeting of Parliament, and at the cost of those whom he took to be Authors of the last Prorogation : Lord Es-

SEX, and HALLIFAX, look'd upon themselves as most in his Danger, and aim'd at by Lord SHAFTSBURY'S Threats, and out of all Measures with the Duke of MONMOUTH. This induc'd a Consultation among us, whether considering the Distempers of the present Parliament, the best Course were not to dissolve it, and have another call'd in *October*; wherein the Three Lords and I agreed, and the King was perfectly of the same Mind, considering with what Distempers that Parliament both began and continued. So it was resolv'd, that the King should propose at next Council, whether it were best to Prorogue that Parliament, or Dissolve it and at the same time call another; and that in the mean time, the Lord Chancellor, and the other chief Officers depending

pending upon the King, should be acquainted with his Mind, either by His Majesty or the Three Lords. For since the King's going to *Windsor*, I continued at *Sheen*, and only went to *Hampton-Court* on Council Days; though the Three Lords came often to me, and press'd me as often to come as they did to Court, and Lord HALLIFAX protested he would burn my House, and that if I would not enter upon the Secretary's Office, his Uncle COVENTRY would look out for some other Chapman; for as soon as he had found one, he was resolv'd to part with it. I told him I was very willing, and would speak to the King, that his Market should not be spoil'd upon my Occasion. Whether his Lordship believ'd me or not, I did so, and desir'd His Majesty to think

think of some other for that Place; for my ill Health increasing with my Age, made me find my self unable to go through with the Toils of that Office, if executed in the Forms and with the Attendance it requir'd. The King told me, he could not consent to it; that if he should, he knew not a Man in *England* fit for it besides me, so that I had no Reason to take it kindly of Him. I desir'd His Majesty to give me leave, and I would propose Three Persons, of which I would undertake every one should be fitter than I. The King would not so much as hear me name them; but told me, 'twas a Point he had been so long fixt in, that He could not change His Resolution.

I N our last Meeting, we had calculated how many at Council
could

could in any probability oppose the dissolving of the present Parliament, and calling another; and we had concluded, there could not be above Six in the whole Council that could be against it, at the most; which we thought would be a great Support to the King's Resolution, against all the Exclamations we expected from Lord SHAFTSBURY and his Friends; and at least that it would be safe against the Consequences which were usually deduc'd from the Forms of calling Parliaments always by Advice of the Council, that the dissolving them ought to be so too, at least when it was not at their own Desire.

THE Council Day came; and when I came thither, and found the King and Three Lords with some others already there,
I

I ask'd Lord SUNDERLAND and HALLIFAX, whether all was prepar'd, and Lord Chancellor and other chief Officers had been spoke to? They said, no, it had been forgotten or neglected; but the King would do it to each of them apart as they came that Morning, and before the Council began. I thought it hard, a Point of that Importance should be neglected so long; but was fain to content my self with what they told me would be done. The outward Room where the King was, fill'd apace; every one made his Leg to His Majesty, and fill'd the Circle about him as they came in: I was talking apart, in a Corner of the Room, till it grew late, and Lord Chancellor told the King that it was so, and I saw the King turn from the Chancellor, and go into the Council

cil Chamber : All follow'd ; the Council sat ; the King propos'd his Thoughts, whether it were best for his Affairs, to Prorogue this Parliament till *October*, or to dissolve it and call another at that time ; and desir'd their Lordships Opinions upon it.

I observ'd a general Surprise at the Board ; which made me begin to doubt, the King had spoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor before he came in : But it soon appear'd he had not so much as done that neither. For after a long Pause, he was the first that rose up, and spoke long and violently against the Dissolution ; was follow'd by Lord SHAFTSBURY in the amplest manner, and most tragical Terms ; Lord ANGLESEY follow'd them, by urging all the fatal

tal Consequences that could be:
 The same Style was pursued by
 * *Earl of* Lord * CHAMBER-
 Arlington. LAIN, and agreed to
 by the Marquess of WORCES-
 TER; and pursued from the top to
 the very bottom of the Table by
 every Man there, and at a very
 full Council; except the Three
 Lords, who spoke for the Dissol-
 ution, but neither with half the
 Length or Force of Argument they
 intended to have done; leaving
 that Part as I suppos'd to me, who
 was I confess well enough in-
 structed in the Case, to have said
 more upon that Argument: But I
 was spighted from the First that
 I heard of my Lord Chancellor's
 Speech, and still more and more
 as every Man spoke, at the Con-
 sequences happen'd by such a Neg-
 ligence of my Friends, who had
 been perpetually about the King,
 and

and might so easily have effected what was agreed on, and thought so necessary: I was the last but one to speak, and saw Argument would signify nothing, after such Inequality was declar'd in Number; and so contented myself to say in short, That I thought it was every Man's Opinion, that a happy Agreement between His Majesty and Parliament was of necessity to his Affairs, both at Home and Abroad: That all the Difference, in a Continuance of this, or Assembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the likelyhood of agreeing better and easier with one than with t'other: That His Majesty had spoken so much of his despairing about any Agreement with this present Parliament, and the Hopes he had of doing it with another; that for my part, I thought

thought That ought to decide it ; because I thought His Majesty could better judge of that Point than any Body else. So His Majesty order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for dissolving that Parliament, and calling another to Assemble in *October* following : And thereupon the Council broke up, with the greatest Rage in the World, of the Lord S H A F T S B U R Y, Lord R U S S E L, and Two or Three more, and the general Dissatisfaction of the whole Board.

A F T E R the Council ended, every Man's Head began to fill with the Thoughts of the new Elections, and several spoke to the King upon that Subject. I had resolv'd to stand for the University of *Cambridge*, and the Duke of M O N M O U T H being Chancellor,

cellor, I desir'd the King to speak to him, to write to some of his Friends in my Favour: He excus'd himself, first, upon Engagements; but the King press'd him upon mine, as a Thing of Importance; and that he could not be otherwise engag'd, before he knew of the Parliament's being Dissolv'd. I said a good deal too upon it: But do what the King could, by all he was pleas'd to say, the Duke of MONMOUTH would not be brought further, than to say he would not meddle in it one way or t'other; which gave me the first plain and open Testimony of his Dispositions towards me, having ever receiv'd before all outward Civilities, though without my Visits or Attendances. Yet, I think, his Grace kept his Word with me in this Point, better than I expected: For my
F Election

Election in the University proceeded with the most general Concurrence that could be there, and without any Difficulties I could observe from that Side; Those which were rais'd, coming from the Bishop of ELY; who own'd the opposing me from a Chapter of Religion in my *Observations on the Netherlands*, which gave him an Opinion, that mine was for such a Toleration of Religion, as is there describ'd to be in *Holland*.

THE Council after this Day, was put off till the King's return to *London*, according to the Use of that Season; and every one began to canvas for Elections in the ensuing Parliament, upon which all His Majesty's Affairs seem'd to depend. The King, in the mean time, resolv'd to do all that

that could help to make Fair Weather there. I told my Friends I would take care of my Election, and go down about it; but for the rest, would pass my Time at Home the remainder of the Summer, and recommended the common Cares to the Three Lords; whose Attendance I knew would not fail at Court, Two of them from their Offices, and the * Third from his Humour; which he own'd always must have Business to employ it, or would else be uneasy.

* *The
Marquess of
Hallifax.*

THE Summer was declining; but the Duke of MONMOUTH in his greatest Height; when the King fell sick at *Windsor*, and with Three such Fits of a Fever as gave much Apprehension, and That a general Amazement; People

ple looking upon any thing at this time that should happen ill to the King, as an end of the World. I went to *Windsor*, after the Second Fit; and having seen His Majesty, observ'd more Strength and fewer ill Symptoms than had been reported; nor could I think him in Danger, without Accidents, which was to be the Care of his Physicians, who were some of them wholly of my Mind. I found and left the Three Lords very Diligent at Court, in attending both his Person and Affairs, which I was very glad of; and so came Home without entring further into any Discourses with them, than of His Majesty's Sickness; which was then the general Discourse and Care.

ABOUT

ABOUT Three or Four Days after, having receiv'd Assurance of the King's certain Recovery, by being free of any Return of his Feaver Fits, I went up to *London* to sollicite a great Arrear of my Ambassies due from the Treasury. The Commissioners were met that Morning at my Lord ESSEX's House, whither I went strait; but by the Way, heard that the Duke was that Night pass'd through *London*, and rode Post to *Windsor*; which I doubted not His Highness had been induc'd to by the Reports of the King's Danger, upon the News of His Sickness; and made no further Reflection upon it, than that of the great Surprise, and *martel en tête* [*Uneasiness*] that would be given Lord ESSEX and HALLIFAX by this

sudden Arrival of the Duke, to whose Interests they had run so Counter, and with such Heights, for several Years. But upon their late separating all Measures from the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY, I thought I had Field enough left for doing them good Offices to the Duke, when I should see him, which I resolv'd the next Day.

W H E N I came to Lord ESSEX's House, and ask'd for the Commissioners, I found they were late some time, but that Lord ESSEX had newly left them together, and was gone up into his Chamber, whither I was immediately sent for; his Servants went out, and left him Booted, and ready to get up on Horseback. As soon as we were alone, he ask'd me, whether I had not met

met with strange News, and what I thought of it? I said, it did not seem very strange that the Duke should come, if he thought the King in Danger. Lord ESSEX reply'd, yet 'twas strange he should come without Leave from the King; and that now His Majesty was well, sure he would not think of staying Three Days: That he was going as fast as he could to *Windsor*, to see what all this Business was; and ask'd me if I would not go, which I excus'd for that Day, but promis'd the next. In this little Discourse, I observ'd all along a sneering Smile, which I knew not what to make of; I thought, if it were a Countenance, it was better put on than was usual with his Lordship; and that he should be pleas'd with it at Heart, I could not

well imagine, knowing how Things had pass'd between the Duke and him.

N E X T Day I went to *Windsor*; and the first Man I met was Lord HALLIFAX coming down from Court on Foot, and with a Face of Trouble; and as soon as he saw me, with Hands lift up Two or Three times; upon which I stop'd, and alighting, ask'd what was the Matter: He told me, I knew all as well as he; that the Duke was come; that every Body was amaz'd; but where we were, or what would be next, no Body knew: He bid me go on to Court before the King went out; said he was going to his Lodging, to sit and think over this new World; but desir'd we might meet

meet, and my Lord SUNDER-
LAND, after Dinner.

I went to the King; and after him to the Duke, who receiv'd me with great Kindness, and presently carry'd me into a little inner Room, and ask'd me, smiling and very familiarly, whether I did not Wonder to see him here: I told him, not at all, if he had thought the King in Danger; for in that Case His Highness had nothing else to do: And that I believ'd upon the first News of His Majesty's Illness, he would come as near as he could, either to *Newport* or *Calais*, and there expect the next News; but that His Majesty's Sickness having pass'd so soon, I confess'd I had not thought of his coming over. We talk'd of the King's Recovery; what Stay his Highness

ness would make, which he said should be as the King pleas'd, for he would obey Him in every thing. I gave the Duke a short Account of Affairs here, as they had pass'd since the Constitution of the Council ; of the Mischiefs had been occasion'd by the Lord SHAFTSBURY's having been brought in so much against my Will ; of his Measures with the Duke of MONMOUTH ; of the Three Lords having absolutely broken from him ; of the Credit they were grown into with the King ; and of my Confidence, they would never fall into any Measures against his Highness : Upon which Chapter I said a good deal that I thought necessary to make Lord ESSEX and HALLIFAX's Court, which I was very glad to see so well receiv'd by the Duke:

For

For as to Lord SUNDERLAND, I had little Reason to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the Court in the whole Course of his Life. For my self, I only said at last, that because I did not know what our present Distempers might end in, if the next Parliament should prove of the same Humour with the Two last; nor what Measures his Highness would fall into about staying or going away again; I would only say, that let whatever would befall the King's Affairs or his Highness's, he might always reckon upon me as a *legal* Man, and one that would always follow the Crown as became me; nor could any thing make the least Scruple in this Resolution, unless Things should ever grow so desperate, as to bring in Foreigners, which (if ever it should be)

be) would be a new Case, and that I knew not what to think of. Upon this the Duke laid his Hand upon mine, and bid me keep there, and said, that he would ask no more of me or any Man: And so I parted, after a long and very gracious Audience, and came Home that Night, having miss'd my Lord HALLIFAX and ESSEX in the Afternoon at Lord SUNDERLAND's, where we had appointed to meet, and I came, but they fail'd; and Lord SUNDERLAND and I talk'd deep into nothing, reserving our selves, as I thought, till the others came.

I stay'd at Home, making the Reflections I could not avoid upon the Carriage of my Friends; till within a few Days I heard
the

the News of the Duke of MONMOUTH's Disgrace ; which tho' it came by some Degrees, yet they were so sudden one after another, as to make it appear a lost Game in the King's Favour and Resolutions. Though nothing could seem more reasonable than that which it ended in, That while the Duke was abroad, the Duke of MONMOUTH should be so too ; having made his Pretensions so evident, and pursu'd them so much to the Prejudice of the King's Affairs ; However, I could not but Wonder, how the Duke had been able in so few Days, or rather Hours, to get so great a Victory. I went within a Day or Two to *London*, found my Lord HALLIFAX in Physick, but saw plainly his Distemper was not what he call'd it ; his
Head

Head look'd very full, but very unquiet; and when we were left alone, all our Talk was by Snatches; Sicknefs, ill Humour, Hate of Town and Business, Ridiculousness of Human Life; and whenever I turn'd any thing to the present Affairs after our usual manner, nothing but Action of Hands or Eyes, Wonder, and Signs of Trouble, and then Silence.

I came Home, and satisfy'd enough upon what Terms I was with my Friends, though I knew not whence it came, or whither it went. But I soon found out the whole Secret; which was that upon the King's first Illness, the Lord ESSEX and HAL- LIFAX being about him, thought his Danger great, and their own so too; and that if any thing hap-
pen'd

pen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of MONMOUTH would be at the Head of the Nation, in opposition to the Duke upon Pretence of Popery, and in Conjunction with Lord SHAFTSBURY, who had threaten'd to have their Heads upon Prorogation of the last Parliament; which Threat was apply'd by Lord ESSEX and HALLIFAX to themselves; reckoning Lord SUNDERLAND out of Danger by his Relation to Lord SHAFTSBURY, and the fair Terms That had always made between them. This Fright had so affected these Lords, that not staying to see what the King's Second Fit would be, they propos'd to the King the sending immediately for the Duke; which being resolv'd, and the Dispatch made with all the Secrecy and
Speed

Speed imaginable, the Duke came over; but finding the King recover'd, it was agreed to pass for a Journey wholly of his own, and that it should be receiv'd by His Majesty and the Three Lords with all Signs of Surprize. When this was done, they found the Duke of MONMOUTH so irrag'd at this Council, as well as Lord SHAFTSBURY, that they saw no Way but to Ruin them both, and throw them quite out of the King's Affairs, and joyn-ing themselves wholly with the Duke's Interest; which they did for that Time, till they had brought about all His Highness desir'd for His Security against the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY; the First going over into *Holland*, and the other being turn'd out of the Council.

FOR

FOR my own part, though I was glad of any Mortification that happen'd to the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY, whose Designs had run the Kingdom into such incurable Divisions and Distractions, at a Time that our Union was so necessary to the Affairs of Christendom Abroad ; yet I was Spighted to the Heart, at the Carriage of my Friends towards me in this Affair : And not so much for their taking such a Resolution without my Knowledge and Concert, (which they never had done since our first Commerce), as for keeping me Ignorant after the Duke's coming over ; and so far, as to let me make such a Figure as I did, in doing all the good Offices, and making all the Court I could to the Duke, for Lord

ESSEX and HALLIFAX, as I told them I would do; while they were both in the Depth and Secret of his Interests and Counsels; and I who had Reason to think my self well with his Highness, was left wholly out of all Confidence both with him and with them. But I had Reason to resent it yet further, when I found that some of them perceiving the Duke much unsatisfy'd with the Constitution of the new Council, had, to make their own Court, laid the whole Load of it upon me; whereas, if my Lord CHANCELLOR, Lord SUNDERLAND, and Lord ESSEX had not fallen into it with the greatest Applauses and Endeavours in the World to finish the Draught of it, the Thing had certainly dyed; and for my own Part, after I could not hinder

my

my Lord SHAFTSBURY's being brought in, I would have been very well content it should.

I could not but tell my Lord SUNDERLAND of these Resentments; and that I found my self so unfit for Courts, that I was resolv'd to pass the rest of my Life in my own Domestick, without troubling my self further about any publick Affairs, than not to appear sullen in not coming sometimes to general Councils; And that Lord ESSEX and HALLIFAX's Carriage to me had been such, after having been the Two Men of *England* I had it in my Power and my Fortunes most to oblige, that I would never have any Thing more to do with them. This I said only to one Person more; and how it

came to be known by their Two Lordships, I cannot tell; but there all Commerce between us ended, further than what was common when we met at Council, or in Third Places; though Lord HALLIFAX came to an Eclaircissement with me the Spring after, which ended very well, and I did him the Service I could upon Occasion in the late House, as well as in Council, upon their Heats against him.

I pass'd the rest of the Summer at Home, and left the Three Lords in the chief Ministry and sole Confidence, as outwardly appear'd, both with the King and Duke: And Lord ESSEX told my Brother Sir JOHN TEMPLE who was then here, that he had more Credit with the King than all the rest of the
Mi-

Ministers, or any Man in *England*; But the refin'd Courtiers, who observe Countenances and Motions, had no Opinion of it : And soon after Lord ESSEX and HALLIFAX, upon the private Examination of an Intrigue I could never make any thing of, nor Thought worth my Enquiry, which was commonly call'd the *Meal-Tub Plot*, took such a Distaste at finding themselves mention'd in it, and yet left out of the Secret Examinations about it; that the Duke was no sooner gone, but their Discontents grew open against the Court; my Lord ESSEX left the Treasury; Lord HALLIFAX in Discourse to me commended him for it, and told me his Resolution to go down into the Country; and though he could not plant Me-

86 M E M O I R S.

lons as I did, being in the *North*, yet he would plant Carots and Cucumbers, rather than trouble himself any more about Publick Affairs; and accordingly he went down to *Rufford*. To their nearer Friends I heard they complain'd, that they found they had no found Part in the King's Confidence or the Duke's; that they were but other Mens Dupes, and did other Mens Work; and that finding no Measures would be taken for satisfying and uniting the Kingdom, they would have no more Part in publick Affairs.

UPON Lord ESSEX's leaving the Treasury, Mr.
 * *Now* * H Y D E came of
Earl of Ro- Course to be First Com-
chester. missioner; and he and Mr.
 * G O -

* GODOLPHIN, were brought into the Council; where I met them the next time I came, and welcom'd them, as Two Persons that had always been my Friends, and agreed with me in all my Opinions and Measures about Affairs Abroad, wherein only we had been Conversant in our Commerce, either at *Nimeguen*, the *Hague*, or at Home. These Two joyn'd in Confidence with Lord SUNDERLAND; and the other Two Lords being in Discontent or Absent, and I keeping at Home both upon my Resolution and Inclination; these Three were esteem'd to be alone in the Secret and Management of the King's Affairs, and look'd upon as the Ministry.

* *New*
Earl of Godolphin.

OCTOBER came on, wherein the Parliament was to meet. The Duke was in *Flanders*: The Duke of MONMOUTH in *Holland*: Lord SHAFTSBURY endeavour'd to enflame the Reckoning of the late Conduct and Counsels against the Sitting of the Parliament, and to set afoot Petitions in case they did not Sit: The Ministers were not able to stand the opening of the Parliament; and so a short Prorogation was expected some Days before that appointed for their Assembly. I had not been at Court or Council in a Month or Six Weeks; when being recover'd of a Fit of the Gout, I came to Town, and went to Lord SUNDERLAND, talk'd to him of my several Arrears in the Treasury, desir'd his Help, which he promis'd

mis'd with great Kindness, and went with me to the King, where we propos'd and agreed the Way of my Satisfaction. The King seem'd very kind to me, but neither one or t'other of them said a Word to me of any Publick Business. From the King's Chamber we went to the Council, where I expected nothing but such common Things as I knew had pass'd for a good while before; and so all pass'd, till I thought the Council was ending, when the King after a little Pause told us, That upon many Considerations, which he could not at present acquaint us with, he found it necessary to make a longer Prorogation than he had intended, of the Parliament: That he had consider'd all the Consequences, so far as to be absolutely resolv'd, and not to
hear

hear any Thing that should be said against it: That he would have it Prorogued till that time Twelvemonth; and charg'd my Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly.

ALL at Council were Stunn'd at this Surprizing Resolution, and the Way of proposing it; except those few that were in the Secret, and they thought fit to be Silent, and leave the thing wholly upon His Majesty: Several others rose up, and would have entred into the Reasonings and Consequences of it; but the King would not hear them, and so all Debate ended. After which I rose, and told the King, That as to the Resolution he had taken, I would say nothing, because he was resolv'd to hear no Reasoning upon it; therefore I would
only

only presume to offer him my humble Advice as to the Course of his future Proceedings ; which was, that His Majesty in his Affairs would please to make use of some Council or other, and allow Freedom to their Debates and Advices ; after hearing which, His Majesty might yet resolve as he pleas'd. That if he did not think the Persons or Number of this present Council suited with his Affairs, it was in his Power to Dissolve them and Constitute another of Twenty, of Ten, or of Five, or any Number he pleas'd, and to alter them again when he would ; but to make Counsellors that should not Counsel, I doubted whether it were in His Majesty's Power or not, because it imply'd a Contradiction ; and so far as I had observ'd, either of former Ages or the present, I question'd

question'd whether it was a Thing had been practis'd in *England* by His Majesty's Predecessors, or were so now by any of the present Princes of Christendom : And therefore I humbly advised him to constitute some such Council, as he would think fit to make use of, in the Digestion of his great and publick Affairs.

HIS Majesty heard me very Graciously, and seem'd not at all displeas'd with any thing I had said ; nor any other Person of the Lords of the Council, but most very much to approve it : Yet after the Council was up, my Lord SUNDERLAND came to me, told me, he was never so surpris'd as at what I had said, and expected it sooner from any Man in *England* than me : That whatever Resolutions had been
taken

taken about my Business in the Treasury, he was sure nothing should be done. I reply'd, that if he liked not what I said, he should have prevented it, by telling me before I came to Council what was intended to be done; which if I had known, I would not have been there, no more than I had been so long before: And that if my Debt would not be paid, I must live the best I could without it.

NOT long before, the Prince of ORANGE writ me Word, how much he found the Duke unsatisfy'd with me, upon the Belief that it was I had given the Prince those Impressions and Sentiments which he had upon the common Affairs of Christendom; whereas, he could say on the contrary, that it was he had given

ven me mine, and should never change his own till he were convinc'd d' avoir tort [*of being in the Wrong*]: However, that he thought fit out of Friendship to me, to give me this Advice.

I was now in a posture to be admirably pleas'd with having part in publick Affairs. The Duke unsatisfy'd with me of late; the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY from the very first; Lord ESSEX and HALIFAX out of all Commerce with me upon what had pass'd; Great Civility from the other Ministers, but no Communication; And the King himself, though very Gracious, yet very Reserv'd. Upon all this, and the melancholy Prospect of our Distractions at Home, and thereupon the Disasters threatening Abroad;
but

but chiefly upon my own Native Humour, born for a private Life, and particular Conversation or general Leisure; I resolv'd to give over all Part in publick Affairs, and came no more either to Court or Council in a Month's time, which I spent chiefly in the Country.

IN this time the Lord RUSSEL, Lord *CAVEN-^{*Late} DISH, Sir H. CAPEL, ^{Duke of Devon-} and Mr. POWLE, dis-^{shire.} taffed at the late Pro- rogation, as well as at the Manner of it, and pretending to despair of being able to serve the King any longer, in a Conduct of Affairs so disagreeable to the general Humour of the People; went to the King together, and desir'd His Majesty to excuse their Attendance any more upon Him
at

at Council, which the King very easily consented to. Lord SALISBURY, Lord ESSEX, and Lord HALIFAX, seem'd to have taken the same Resolution, though not in so much Form. Upon which I thought it might be a great Prejudice to His Majesty's Affairs, to be left by so many at once; And that, if I wholly gave over at the same time, it would look like entering into a Faction, with Persons who were only displeas'd with the present Scene upon Hopes of entering soon upon another, which was no Part of my Thoughts or Designs. Therefore I resolv'd to go again to Council, to shew I had not Herded with those that had left it; and that my leaving it too, might not occasion some Men's greater Distastes at the Government.

IN the Intermission I had made, my Wife continuing her Commerce with my Lady SUNDERLAND, had met my Lord there ; who taking no Notice of what had pass'd between us, ask'd her how I had proceeded in my Business of the Treasury, and whether I needed his Help, which he offer'd with great Friendliness if I had Occasion. When I came up to Town, and went the first time to Council ; after it was done, I went to Lord SUNDERLAND, told him what Regards towards His Majesty had made me come up, and gave him Thanks for his Offers to my Wife : I found him return'd to his first Temper towards me ; enter'd into common Affairs, but always with Professions of my Resolutions to retire, and my
H Thoughts

Thoughts of a Journey into *Italy*, which I had long promis'd the Great Duke. I liv'd on with my Lord SUNDERLAND in all Kindness, though not Confidence, which was now wholly between him and Mr. HYDE and Mr. GODOLPHIN. I made Use of his Offers, and by his Help came to an Issue in the most difficult Point of my Business in the Treasury.

THE second time I was at Council, after my return from *Sheen*, my Lord SUNDERLAND told me he was to say something to me from the King, and desir'd we might meet after Council was up. I went to his Lodgings; where he told me that Mr. Secretary COVENTRY being absolutely resolv'd to part with his Place, and the King
having

having found I had long declin'd it, had now Thoughts of consenting to Sir LIONEL JENKINS's coming into it upon a Bargain with the Secretary ; but that the King would do nothing in it without first letting me know his Thoughts ; and ask'd whether I had any Thing to say upon it. I made no Stop in the World, but told his Lordship that the King could do nothing for me that I would take Kinder than this ; that I had several Times press'd His Majesty to a new Choice, and once offer'd to Name some to Him that I knew were fit for it ; that I had resolv'd against it so long, that His Majesty had no Reason to remember any of his Engagements to me how voluntary soever ; but that he was pleas'd to do it, was the most obliging

in the World ; and I was resolv'd immediately to go and make him my Acknowledgments: I did so ; they were extremely well taken ; the King us'd me with great Kindness ; and Sir LIONEL JENKINS came into the Office:

I pass'd the Winter in Town, though with much Indisposition ; going sometimes to the Council, and sometimes to the Foreign Committee, but not frequently to either, and meddling very little with any Thing that pass'd there ; unless it was what concern'd the Affairs of *Ireland*, which happen'd to be then Hot upon the Anvil ; the Duke of ORMOND and Council of that Kingdom, having transmitted several Acts over to the Council here, both of Grace and Supplies, in
or-

order to a Parliament to be held in *Ireland*. This brought Lord ESSEX again into Play, after so much Discontent and so little Attendance for several Months at Council: But his Eye and Heart had ever been bent upon his Return to the Government of *Ireland*; which made him Steer all by that Compass, and pursue Court or Popular Humour, as he thought Either likeliest to further that End. Whenever the *Irish* Acts came into Council, he was sure to be there; first raising Twenty Difficulties in the particular Acts, and Arraigning, not only the Prudence, but common Sense of the Lord Lieutenant and Council there: Then arguing against the assembling a Parliament in that Kingdom; and at last introducing Sir JAMES SHEEN to make Proposals of

increasing the King's Revenue there near Eighty Thousand Pounds a Year upon a new Farm to himself and the Company he offer'd to be joyn'd with him ; A Farm indeed, as it was drawn up, not of the Revenue, but of the Crown of *Ireland*.

THIS Scheme was ever supported by Lord ESSEX ; and ever oppos'd by me, with more Sharpness than was usual to me upon any Debates ; because I had found out the Cheat of the whole Thing, which Lord ESSEX had set on Foot as a great Master-piece of that Cunning, which his Friends us'd to say was his Talent, and was one for which of all other Talents I had ever the greatest Aversion. The short of this Story was, Lord ESSEX had a mind to be Lieutenant

tenant of *Ireland*, and to hinder any Parliament being call'd till he came to the Government. He saw himself out at Court ; and the Hopes of getting in by his Interest in Parliament, now delay'd by the Prorogation longer than he could stay : He projects this Farm with Sir JAMES SHEEN, and by him offers it to Mr. HYDE with the Advantages mention'd to the King's Revenue ; but agrees with Sir JAMES, that if the Bait were swallow'd, he should upon the Conclusion of all declare, That he and his Company were ready to perform all the Conditions agreed on ; but could not do it, unless my Lord ESSEX might be sent over Lieutenant of *Ireland* ; without which the Condition of that Kingdom could never be settled enough for such

Advantages to the King's Service and Revenue. This I knew, under Secrecy, from a Confident of Sir JAMES SHEEN, who had told himself this whole Project and the Paces intended.

Mr. HYDE, who was at the Head of all Matters concerning the King's Revenue, had receiv'd this new Proposal, and imbrac'd it very warmly; whether prevail'd upon by the specious Shew of so great Encreases in the Revenue, or by some new Measures growing between him and Lord ESSEX in other Affairs, I never could determine; but such a Patronage at Council gave Strength to the Debates, being little oppos'd but by Sir LIONEL JENKINS and me, who laid the Matter so bare, that it drew out into Length that whole Spring; and

and the King joyn'd wholly with me in the Opinion of the Thing, and so far, that when it was to come to Council or Committee, His Majesty sent particularly to me to be there.

I N the midst of these Agitations the Duke came over out of *Flanders*, and Resolution was taken for his going into *Scotland*. I was extremely concern'd for the Duke of ORMOND, who had fallen into Danger of the Consequences threaten'd by these Intrigues and Pursuits, after the most sensible Blow that could be given him by the Death of his * Son ; and was both of an Age and Me-
* *The Earl of Ossory.*
rits to expect no more Reverses of Fortune, after so many as he had run through in the Course of his Loyalty. I saw Mr. HYDE

violently bent upon Sir JAMES SHEEN's imaginary Project; and I doubted, with some Picque to the Duke of ORMOND, and Partiality to Lord ESSEX. The King seem'd to grow weary of so much Pursuit; and Lord SUNDERLAND was indifferent in the Thing: So that I resolv'd to try if I could Engage the Duke to support the Duke of ORMOND; and the second time I was with His Highness, after his coming to Court, I fell into this whole Business and the Consequences of it and laid open the Secret of the Thing. The Duke seem'd very Favourable to Lord ESSEX, and more Indifferent to the Duke of ORMOND than I expected; which made me fall very freely into the Character of them both, which the Duke seem'd at last to allow with the Distinction they de-

deserv'd, and profess'd to desire the Duke of ORMOND should be continued; though if he were remov'd at any time, he still seem'd to think Lord ESSEX the fittest to succeed him. But I found some Days after, by Sir LIONEL JENKINS, that His Highness had been very glad to find me so fixt in that Business to the Duke of ORMOND, and that he would give him what Support he could.

U P O N the Motions of this Affair, I grew into more Attendance upon His Majesty, and more Commerce both with Lord SUNDERLAND and Mr. HYDE; with whom I always liv'd very well, though we differ'd so much in Opinion upon this *Irish* Business. But continuing still my Resolutions of winding my self
out

out of all publick Business; and to that End talking often to them of my Design to make a Journey to *Florence*, both upon Occasion of my Health and Promise; they both propos'd to me, if I had a mind to go into a hot Country, to go into *Spain*, and do it with a Character from the King, who was likely to have Affairs there; rather than make a Journey, like young Gentlemen, only to see the Country. I told them how unwilling I was to charge my self again with the Ceremonies and Farigue of an Ambassy; or to run again the Hazard I had done so often already, of being undone by those Employments: That if I could resolve on it, I did not see what Affairs the King could have in *Spain*, whilst he had such as he seem'd to have at present in

Eng-

England ; nor could I see what Use
any Leagues or Measures Abroad
could be to Him, unless some
Union at Home would enable
Him to support them. This Con-
versation however was often re-
new'd between Us ; and at last I
found out, that to prepare for a
good Session of Parliament next
Winter, the Ministers were resolv'd
upon all Measures that might
conduce towards it during the
Summer ; and, as one of the
Chief, were resolv'd to send Mi-
nisters to *Spain*, *Denmark*, and o-
ther of the Confederates, and
enter with them into the strict-
est Measures for the common
Defence against the Power of
France.

I found the Ministers were
mighty earnest to engage me in
this Ambassy, as believing my
charg-

charging my self with it would give a general Opinion, both at Home and Abroad, of our Sincerity in the Thing. The King spoke to me, and seem'd very desirous of my Undertaking it. I defended my self a good while, having indeed no Opinion the Thing had a good Root, or that the Appearance of it would have the Effect hoped for upon the next Meeting of Parliament: But at last I brought it to this Point; that I would not charge my self with going to make the intended Alliance in *Spain*; but if the King should think fit to conclude it here with the *Spanish* Ambassador upon Terms of mutual Satisfaction, I would be content to go and cultivate it in *Spain*. This was done by the Ministers; the King declar'd me His Ambassador Extraordinary at *Madrid*; I pass'd my

my Privy Seal, receiv'd my Equipage, and spent the latter end of the Summer in the Preparations for my Journey, which were in a manner finish'd about the middle of *September*; when the King told me, that since the Parliament drew so near, and so much depended upon it of all that concern'd him either Abroad or at Home, he was resolv'd to have me stay at least the opening of it, by which we should judge of the further Progress.

FROM what Seeds the Discontents and Violent Proceedings of this last Session grew, I have told already; but by what Motions and Degrees they came to such a Height, is another Story, and may have had some Roots which I did not Discover; but what I observ'd was this. After
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the Duke's Return into *Flanders*, he had the King's Leave to come over again in some Months. The Duke of M O N M O U T H came back out of *Holland* without Leave, and so came not to Court; and thereby seem'd to make himself the Head of those that were Discontented, either with the Duke's Return, or the Intermission of Parliament. In acting this Part, he was guided by Lord S H A F T S B U R Y, who resolv'd to blow up the Fire as high as he could this Summer; so as to make the Necessity the greater of the Parliament sitting at the time appointed. And because Boldness looks like Strength; to encourage his Party with an Opinion of both, he engag'd several Lords, and among them Lord R U S S E L, to go with him to *Westminster-Hall* publickly, and there

there at the King's Bench to present the Duke as a Recusant. Though the Matter had no Consequences in the Forms of the Court; yet it had a general one upon the Minds of the People, and a strong one upon the Passions of all those Persons that were so publickly engag'd in this bold Pace against the Duke; which was breaking all Measures with him, and entring into the desperate Resolution of either Ruining His Highness or Themselves: And I found it had a great Effect upon the small Circle of my Acquaintance or Observation.

L O R D E S S E X who had pursu'd his Return to the Government of *Ireland*, by Engines at Court for Six Months past; began to let all that Business of Sir JAMES SHEEN cool, and to
I reckon

reckon upon laying a surer Foundation for that Design, from the Credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this he began to fall into new Commerce with Lord SHAFTSBURY, who told him in those flameless Words, My Lord, if you will come in to us, never trouble yourself, we'll make you Lieutenant of Ireland. The Way to this Return, was to oppose the Duke's Stay here upon the several Passages he made, but chiefly upon that before the Session of Parliament. Lord HALLIFAX, tho' he fell not in with Lord SHAFTSBURY, yet was glad to make fair Weather against the Parliament, by his Oppositions to the Duke. Lord SUNDERLAND was struck with the Boldness of these Lords Presentment in Westminster Hall, and the Consequence

sequence of such Men being so desperately Engag'd in an Attempt wherein they were like to be Seconded by the Humour of the Nation upon the Alarms of Popery; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to Support the Duke any longer, but would be forc'd to separate his Interests from him at last: And he believ'd the King himself was of the same Mind. Mr. GODOLPHIN fell into the same Thoughts with Lord SUNDERLAND, both of the Thing it self, and of the King's Mind in it: So as upon the Debate in Council, concerning the Duke's Stay or going back into Scotland before the Parliament met, these Four joyn'd absolutely in the Reasons and Advices for his going away: And though the rest of the Council

were generally of the contrary Opinion, yet the King fell in with these Four, and concluded the Thing; against the Duke's Will and his Friends, as I have been told: For during all these Transactions I was in the Country, with my Thoughts and Preparations wholly turn'd upon my *Spanish* Ambassy; and I was the willinger to be there, upon the Resolution I had long been fix'd in, never to enter into any Differences or Personal Matters between the King and his Brother.

The Duke went away, and the Parliament began, with the general Knowledge of so many great Persons having appear'd so publickly against his Highness in *Westminster-Hall*, and so considerable Ones in the Court it self
and

and at the Council Table : Those of the first Gang fell immediately into the Cabals of Lords and Commons who framed the Bill of Exclusion ; wherein they were desperately engag'd, not only, as they profess'd, upon Opinion of National Ends, but likewise upon that of Self-preservation, having broken irreparably all Measures already with the Duke : The Generality of the House of Commons were carried, partly with the Plausibleness of the Thing, calculated in Appearance only against Popery, without any private Ends as was pretended ; and partly with the Opinion of the King's Resolution to fall into it, upon the Observation of such Lords of the Court having engag'd so far in sending away the Duke. All the Duke of MONMOUTH's

Friends drove it on Violently ; not doubting he would lye in the Duke's Place, though no Provision seem'd to be made for that in the Forms of the Draught : And all these Circumstances concurring, made so violent a Torrent for carrying on this Bill, as nothing could Resist, or any ways Divert ; And as it happens upon all Occasions , the small Opposition made by Two or Three Men, made the Violence the greater.

BESIDES these general Circumstances, there were Two more Particular and Personal, that seem'd to me to have great Influence upon the House : One was, Lord RUSSEL setting himself, almost with Affectation, at the Head of this Affair ; who
was

was a Person in general Repute of an honest worthy Gentleman, without Tricks or private Ambition, and who was known to venture as great a Stake perhaps as any Subject of *England*. The other was *See the Appendix.* Sir WILLIAM JONES entering upon it so abruptly and so desperately as he did, if I mistake not the first Day he came into the House, (at least I have been told so, for I was not there) which was some time after the Session began, having been engag'd in a disputed Election. And this Person having the Name of the greatest Lawyer of *England*, and commonly of a very Wise Man; besides this, of a very Rich, and of a wary or rather timorous Nature; made People generally conclude that the Thing was cer-

tain and safe, and would at last be agreed on all Parts, whatever Countenance were made at Court.

THE Bill pass'd the House of Commons, and was carry'd up by Lord RUSSEL to the House of Lords; as I think, for I was not there at the House. But in the House of Lords it met with another kind of Reception. The King was resolv'd and declar'd, against the Bill: And though Lord SHAFTSBURY, Lord ESSEX, and as I remember about Fifteen more, were Violently for it; yet the rest of the House were Firm and Positive against it, among whom Lord HALLIFAX appear'd most in the Head of all Debates; and so it was, after long Contest, absolutely thrown out. This in-

inrag'd the House of Commons; and having fail'd of the only Thing they seem'd to have at Heart, made them fall upon Persons; engage, first in the pursuit of Lord STAFFORD to the Block, upon the Score of the Plot; and then in Addresses, either upon general Discontents in the publick Affairs, or upon common Fame against particular Men.

DURING the whole Proceedings of this Session of Parliament, I play'd a Part very Impertinent for a Man that had any Designs or Ambitions about him; but for me who had none, (and whose Head was fix'd either upon my Ambassy into *Spain*, or upon my absolute Retirement) the only One wherein I could have satisfy'd my self.

self. As I never enter'd into publick Business by my own Choice or Pursuit, but always call'd into it by the King or His Ministers; so I never made the common Use of it, by ever asking either Money, Lands, or Honour of His Majesty; though I have been often enough urg'd to it by my Friends, and invited by so great Degrees of Confidence and Favour as I have stood in with His Majesty both often and long. I never had my Heart set upon any Thing in publick Affairs, but the Happiness of my Country, and Greatness of the Crown; and in Order to that, the Union of both, by which alone I thought both could be Atchiev'd. When I fell first into Despair of this, I fell first into a Distaste of all Publick Affairs; which has been
nou-

nourish'd by a Course of such Accidents and Turns of Court, and Personal Inconstancies or Infidelities, as I have related. By what Means I came to be so long Engag'd, as to see this Session of Parliament, I have told; but it is not to be told, the Vexation and Trouble which the Course of it gave me. I knew very well, that all the Safety of *Flanders* and *Holland*, depended upon the Union of His Majesty with his Parliament, which might enable Him to make such a Figure in Christendom, as the Crown of *England* has done and ought always to do. The *Dutch* had sent over Monsieur VAN LEWEN to make both Court and Country sensible of this Necessity that Christendom was in; and how much all would lie at the Mercy of *France*, from the
ve-

very Day they saw the Hopes of it fail. The House of Commons met, with such a Bent upon what they thought the Chief of their Home Concerns, that the Name of any thing Foreign would not be allow'd among them ; nay, the mention of *Spanish* Leagues, Alliances with *Holland*, and Measures intended by the King with other Confederates, were Laugh'd at, as Court Tricks, and too Stale to pass any more. They fell downright upon a Point Invincible, which was the Bill of Exclusion ; and in Default of that, upon Heats against the Government and the Ministers, not without some glancing at the King. This was return'd with Heats at Court by those Ministers that were chiefly touch'd : Which were Lord HALLIFAX, who

who by a sudden Turn, where-
of I know no Account, had at
the beginning of the Session fallen
into the open Defence of the
Duke's Interests; And Mr. HYDE,
who by his Relation to the
Duke, and by his Education wholly
at Court, was ever reckon'd up-
on as well as found to be first
in that Point. Though I did
not find by them, that they
thought it would be to much
Purpose; only they promis'd to
agree with the King upon the
Draught of some Expedients in
the Case, which Lord HALLI-
FAX had charg'd himself with,
and should be charg'd with to
the House of Lords, during the
Heats of the Commons.

F O R my own Part, so soon
as I saw the Bent of the House
of Commons, the Violence with
which

which it was carry'd, and the Distractions it was like to Engage the Kingdom in, at a time they were so little in Season; I gave over first all Hopes, and then all Thoughts upon so unpleasant a Theam. In the Business of the Bill I never medl'd, nor so much as reason'd either in or out of the House; having declar'd my Opinion to the King and his Ministers, that it was to no purpose to oppose it there; nor for the King to take Notice of the Commons Address upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any Bills, or any Addresses upon Things of that Nature, were brought to him from both Houses, he would Answer them. By this Means I thought the King was sure of His End; for the Bill would certainly fall as often as it

it came into the House of Lords; and if he should be forc'd to break the Parliament, it would be better done upon invincible Difference between the Two Houses, than upon any between His Majesty and the House of Commons. But this Opinion was not agreed to by the chief Ministers. After that, I press'd both the King and them to bring such Expedients as they told me were resolv'd on; that so we might make all the Strength we could to Support them in the House of Commons, and thereby reduce Things to some Temper; But these, tho' Daily talk'd of, never appear'd. I went not often, either to the House or Council; but when I did, and thought it to any purpose, I endeavour'd to allay the Heats on either Side; and told the King, I expected to
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be turn'd out of the House in the Morning, and out of the Council in the Afternoon. Mr. HYDE ask'd me one Day in the Council Chamber, why I came so seldom to House or Council; I told him, 'twas upon SOLOMON'S Advice, *neither to oppose the Mighty, nor go about to stop the Current of a River*: Upon which he said, I was a Wise and a Quiet Man; and if it were not for some Circumstances he could not help, he would do so too.

I do not remember to have
See the spoken in the House,
Appendix. but upon the Motion of
 Supplies for *Tangier*; upon the
 Digestion of the first Address a-
 bout general Grievances; and in
 the Cases of my Lord Chief
 Justice NORTH and my Lord
 HALLIFAX being Impeach'd
 upon

upon common Fame: Nor at any general Councils; unless it were upon the House of Commons Address against Lord HALLIFAX, and upon a Debate about Dissolving the Parliament; wherein I desir'd the King and Council, never to lay aside the Thoughts and Endeavours of agreeing either with this or some other Parliament, as a Matter of so great Necessity to the State of His Majesty's Affairs both Abroad and at Home. Lord HALLIFAX answer'd me in few Words, That every Body was sensible of the Necessity of the King's agreeing with his Parliaments, though not with this: And * Mr. SEYMOUR told me, he ** Afterwards Sir E.* perfectly agreed with Seymour. me in what I had said. The last Thing I did in House of
K Coun

Council, was to carry the King's
See the last Answer to the
Appendix. Commons, containing
 his Resolutions never to consent to the Exclusion of the Duke; which Secretary JENKINS had been Charg'd with the Night before at Council: But he was thought too unacceptable to the House, it seems, for a Message that was like to prove so; and next Morning the King would have had Sir ROBERT CARR, or Mr. GODOLPHIN have carry'd it, but they both excus'd themselves; upon which the King sent for me.

I told His Majesty, I did not very well understand why a Thing agreed upon last Night at Council Table, should be alter'd in his Chamber; but that I was very willing however to obey

bey him, and the rather upon others having excus'd themselves, and to shew His Majesty that I intended to play no popular Games : Upon which I took the Paper, and told the King that I was very sensible how much of his Confidence I formerly had, and how much I had lost, without knowing the Occasion ; or else I might have had part in the consulting this Change of what was last Night resolv'd, as well as in executing it ; and I would confess to His Majesty, that I had not so good a Stomach in Business, as to be content only with *Swallowing what other People had Chew'd.* Upon which I went away, and carry'd my Message to the House, which was receiv'd just as was expected. I tell this Passage freely, as I do all the rest ; as the only Thing I could imagine

the King could ever take Ill of me; and yet I know not how it could be a Fault, more than in Point of Manners neither, or the Homeliness of Expression.

T H A T which compleated my Resolution of Recess from all publick Business, was to find, as I thought, very plainly, that both Parties who could agree in nothing else, yet did it in this one Point of bringing Things to the last Extremity. Lord **SHAFTSBURY** and his Party, thought the Points of popular Discontents and Petitions, or at least, That of the King's Wants, would at last bring the Court to their Mercy in one Parliament or other. Those Ministers who were past all Measures with the House of Commons, thought there was no Way, but by their
Heats,

Heats, to bring the King to a Dislike, and thereby to a Disuse of Parliaments. And by this likewise the Duke's Interest, seem'd at present only to be secur'd. So that where both Parties consented in dividing to Extremity on each Side, no Man could think any longer of Uniting; nor consequently to see the Crown in such a Posture as I had ever wish'd it, and for our Neighbours Sakes as well as our own.

I found this yet more Evident at the last Debates, during my Assistance at the Foreign Committee, concerning the Answer His Majesty should return to the repeated Addresses of the House of Commons, relating to the Bill of Exclusion. I was of Opinion it should be, That when

both Houses agreed upon an Address to this purpose, he would give them an Answer; but till then would Suspend it, and not send a positive Answer to one House upon so weighty an Occasion, which, for ought he knew, might be contrary to the Sense of the other. By this Means he would be secure from the Necessity of any direct Breach with the Commons; since he knew well enough, the Lords would not consent to the Address. And if the Parliament came to be Dissolv'd, it were better for the King it should break upon Differences between the Two Houses, than between His Majesty and them. For this would give the Nation an Opinion, that he was resolv'd to live without Parliaments here-
af-

after; which might endanger, perhaps our Peace at Home, but would however ruin the Hopes of our Neighbours Abroad, who had no other of defending themselves against *France*, but by the Power of *England*. That if this Parliament broke upon Disputes or Differences between the Two Houses, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a Third, and agree with some of them; by which alone he could be *Great* and Safe both at Home and Abroad. For it was between the King and his Parliament, as between the Mountain and *Mahomet*, who told the People what Miracles he would do when he was at the Top of the Mountain; and to that purpose he would on such a Day call it to him: he did so, but the Mountain would not come;

whereupon he said, that if the Mountain would not come to *Mahomet*, he would go to the Mountain; for unless they both met, no Wonders could be done. The King seem'd pleas'd with all I said, and with the Comparison; but those of the Committee that were Chief in the private Measures taken at this Time, were for a positive Answer to be given the House of Commons, let them take it how they pleas'd; and accordingly this was resolv'd.

HOWEVER, all these Considerations or Interests could not move the King to Dissolve this Parliament, without calling another at the same time to meet at *Oxford* in the Spring. Whereupon, the Heads of the University at *Cambridge* sent to me, to know

know whether I intended to stand again for that Election: I went to the King to Acquaint him with it, and know his Pleasure what Answer I should return them: He seem'd at first Indifferent, and bid me do what I would; But when I said I was very indifferent too, and would do in it what His Majesty lik'd best; he said, in a Manner kind and familiar, that considering how Things stood at this time; he doubted my coming into the House would not be able to do much good; and therefore he thought it as well for me to let it alone, which I said I would do.

W H E N I left the King, I went to my Lord S U N D E R - L A N D, and told him what had pass'd: who took this as the first certain Sign of His Majesty's having

ving fixt his Resolution, and left off all Thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his Measures another Way, for the supply of his Treasures in the ill Condition they were in. He knew very well, that during the last Session, the King had always told me, that he was resolv'd to propose some Expedients to the Houses, upon which he had hopes they might Agree; That he had order'd Lord HAL-
LIFAX to draw them up, and had bid me reserve my Credit in the House for that Occasion: And that if there were any Thoughts of agreeing with the next Parliament, the King he was sure would have been glad to have had me in the House. He said upon it, in some Passion, that he now gave all for gone, and that he must confess I knew
the

the King better than he had done ;
and so we parted.

WITHIN few Days, im-
ploy'd wholly in my Domestick
Concerns, and in order to the
Remove I intended, I left the
Town and went to SHEEN :
From whence I sent the King
Word by my Son, that I would
pass the rest of my Life like as
good a Subject as any he had ;
but that I would never meddle
any more with any publick
Affairs ; and desir'd His Majesty
would not be Displeas'd with
this Resolution. The King very
graciously bid him tell me, That
he was not Angry with me, no
not at all.

I had not been above a Week
at SHEEN, when my Lady
NORTHUMBERLAND (who
liv'd

liv'd then at *Sion*) came to my Cloſet one Morning, and told me, that the Day before, my Lord SUNDERLAND, my Lord ESSEX's Names, and mine, were ſtruck out of the Council; which was the firſt Word I heard of any ſuch Thing; and upon which I neither made any Reflections nor Inquiries; though many others ſeem'd much to wonder, and inquir'd of me what could be the Reaſon of my being joyn'd with the other Two Lords, whoſe Proceedings had been very Different.

MY Lord SUNDERLAND was, during the late Seſſion of Parliament, fallen under a great Diſpleaſure of His Majeſty; and into an outrageous Quarrel with Lord HALLIFAX. The laſt happen'd, not only upon their di-

dividing in the Businesses of the Parliament and Council; but likewise upon Lord SUNDERLAND's entring into new Commerce and Measures with Lord SHAFTSBURY; as my Lord HALLIFAX told me, and which I should not have otherwise known: For if there were any such Commerce, Lord SUNDERLAND had made it a Secret to me; as knowing too well the Aversion I always had for that Lord and the whole Course of his Proceedings in all Publick Affairs. But Lord SUNDERLAND told me another Reason of the Quarrel between him and Lord HALLIFAX; which he said broke out the same Night a Debate arose at Council, concerning an Address of the House of Commons against Lord HALLIFAX, wherein Lord

SUN-

SUNDERLAND had been of Opinion, the King should not yield to it. But after Council, Lord HALLIFAX went to Lord SUNDERLAND's Lodgings, where they fell into Discourse of what had pass'd; And Lord SUNDERLAND told him, that though he had given his Opinion at Council, as he thought became him; yet if such an Address should ever be made against himself, he would certainly desire Leave of the King to Retire, as a thing that would be for his Service. Upon this Lord HALLIFAX fell into such a Passion, that he went out of the Room, and from that time they hardly liv'd in any common Civility where they met.

THE Refiners thought Lord HALLIFAX, who saw himself
topp'd

topp'd by Lord SUNDERLAND's Credit and Station at Court, resolv'd to make this sudden Turn of falling in with the King, upon the Point then in Debate about the Bill of Exclusion, wherein he found the King steddily, and that my Lord SUNDERLAND would lose himself; so that falling into Confidence with the King upon such a Turn, he should be alone Chief in the Ministry without Competitor. At least the Reasoners on this Matter, could find no other Ground for such a Change in Lord HALIFAX's Course, after what he had so long Steer'd, and so lately in having been the chief Promoter of the Duke's being sent away to *Scotland*, just before the Meeting of the Parliament.

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THE King's Quarrels to my Lord SUNDERLAND, as far as I could observe, were chiefly Two. First, his Voting in the Lords House for the Bill of Exclusion, not only against the King's Mind, but against his express Command; which, for a Person actually in his Service, and in such a Post as Secretary of State, seem'd something Extraordinary. And I remember, when I spoke to him of it, as what the King must resent, and what I was Confident he would be steddily in, he told me, 'twas too late, for his Honour was engag'd, and he could not break it. The other was a Memorial sent over by Mr. SYDNEY, the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, and given him by the Pensioner FAGEL, representing the sad Consequences Abroad of
His

His Majesty's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the Danger of his Allies, and of the Protestant Religion; and thereupon, though not directly, yet seeming to Wish that the King would not break with them, though it were even upon the Point of the Bill of Exclusion. This was, as I remember, the Substance; for I never heard a Word of it, either before or after it's being receiv'd at the Foreign Committee; where I was as much surpriz'd at it as any one there, but had not the same Thoughts of its Original, as I find some other of the Lords had. For they believ'd it a Thing directed and advis'd from hence; and, in a Word, by Lord SUNDERLAND to Mr. SYDNEY his Uncle, as a Matter that would be of Weight to induce the King to pass the Bill. But, besides

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that

that Lord S U N D E R L A N D protested to me after Council, that he knew nothing of it, till he receiv'd a Copy from Mr. S Y D N E Y, who sent the Original to the other Secretary; I thought he could not understand the King so ill, as to believe That would be a Motive to him to pass the Bill, or that it could have any other Effect than to Anger him at the *Dutch*, for meddling in a Matter that was Domestic, not only to the Nation, but to the Crown. Besides, I observ'd the Style to be of one that understood little of our Constitution, by several Expressions in the Paper; whereof one was, why the King should not prevent such Consequences, when he might do it *par un trait de plume* [by a Stroke with a Pen]; which shew'd, the Author thought our Acts

Acts of Parliament had been pass'd by the King's Signing them.

THIS, and the whole Cast of it, made me believe it certainly came from the Pensioner F A G E L ; a Man of great Piety and Zeal in his Religion, mightily concern'd for all he thought would endanger it, and besides of great Warmth and Suddenness in pursuing any Thought that possess'd him. However, the King, as well as some of the Committee, believ'd this was of my Lord S U N D E R L A N D 's Forge ; and that many of the Heats in the House of Commons had been encourag'd and rais'd to such Height by his seeming to Favour them ; which they might think he would not do, unless he believ'd the King

L 2 would

would at length comply with them.

THESE, I suppose, were the Reasons of the Resolution taken at Court to remove Lord SUNDERLAND, both from the Secretary's Office and the Council. What made my Lord ESSSEX be joyn'd with him, is a great deal more Obvious; having ever since the meeting of the Parliament, run up in the greatest Heights and nearest Measures with the Duke of MONMOUTH and Lord SHAFTSBURY, both in the Bill of Exclusion and all other Matters where he interven'd, either in Debates of Parliament or of Council; either concerning the Bill, or several Addresses against Ministers. How I came to be joyn'd with these Two Lords, by the
King's

King's ordering our Names to be struck out of the Council-Book at the same Time, I neither know, nor could ever give any Reason; unless it were what was commonly guess'd, of my being a Friend of the Prince of ORANGE, or of my Lord SUNDERLAND, with whom I had a very long Acquaintance, and of our Families, as well as Personal. For the First, I could think it no Crime, considering how little that Prince had ever meddl'd, at least to my Knowledge, in any Domestick Concerns of His Majesty, during all that pass'd since the first Heats in Parliaments here, though he had been extream sensible of the Consequences they were like to have upon all his Interests, and nearest Concerns at Home; which were, the Preservation of *Flanders*

from the *French* Conquests, and thereby of *Holland* from falling by sudden Treaties into an absolute dependance upon that Crown.

I can give no other Reason; unless it were, that as my Lord SALISBURY had been struck out some Days before, upon his having declar'd at Council that he would come there no more; so His Majesty and His Ministers might think, that upon my having taken the same Resolution as to that and all publick Affairs, though signify'd only in private to His Majesty, and with all the good Manners that could be; yet it would be better for the King's Affairs, that I should be known to be put out of the Council, than to have quitted it of my self,

NOR

NOR was this Resolution of mine taken in any Heat or Rashly, but upon the best Considerations and Knowledge I had gain'd, both of the World and of my self: By which I found, as *Sancho* did by governing his Island, that he was not fit to Govern any thing but his Sheep; So by serving long in Courts, or publick Affairs, I discover'd plainly, that I was, at my Age, and in the present Conjunctures, fit for neither one nor t'other.

I consider'd the World in the present posture of Affairs, both Abroad and at Home: I knew very well the great Designs of *France*, whereof the Plan was drawn by Cardinal *RICH-ELIEU*, for the Conquest of *Flanders* and that Part of *Germa-*

ny which lies on this Side of the *Rhine*. How, upon this View, he had seiz'd *Lorrain*, and engag'd in a War with *Spain*. How he practis'd the *Dutch* into a Treaty for the Division of *Flanders* between them, till the States soon found the false Pace they had made, by an Agreement to share with the *Lyon*, who thereupon would be soon Master, both of the Prey and of them. Hereupon they broke off this Confederacy on the sudden, quitted the *French* in the midst of so great Success, and had thereby almost occasion'd the Ruin of the *French* Army at *Tirlemont*. I knew by Tradition from a Noble Family, How that Cardinal had sent a private Emissary, to Endeavour the same Measures with King CHARLES the First ; or at least for his being Passive in
their

their Conquest of *Flanders*. How that King had refus'd the first; and being press'd upon the other, had answer'd resolutely, and bid him tell the Cardinal, that he would never suffer the Conquest of *Flanders*; and if the *French* attempted it, he would March himself in Person to Defend it. Upon this Answer, the Cardinal reply'd to the Gentleman that brought it, *L'a t'il dit? par Dieu il me le payera bien* [*Did he say so? by G--d I'll make him pay dear for it*]; and thereupon enter'd immediately into Practices with some discontented Nobles of *Scotland* then at *Paris*; sent over Two Hundred Thousand Pistoles to others in that Kingdom, and gave thereby a Beginning to the first Troubles that were rais'd there. From which Time, the Business of *France* has

has ever been to foment all Divisions of *England*, whose Interest they saw would be ever to cross their great Design. However, Cardinal MAZARIN, after having surmounted his own Dangers in *France*, and the Difficulties incident to a Minority ; pursu'd the Plan left him by his Predecessor : And by his Measures taken with CROMWELL, and the Assistance of an Immortal Body of Six Thousand brave *English*, which were by Agreement to be continually Recruited, he made such a Progress in *Flanders* ; that CROMWELL soon found the Ballance turn'd, and grown too heavy on the *French* Side ; Whereupon he dispatch'd a Gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propose there a Change of his Treaty with *France* into one with *Spain*, by which
 he

he would draw his Forces over into their Service, and make them Ten Thousand to be continually Recruited, upon Condition their first Action should be to Besiege *Calais*, and when taken, to put it into his Hands. The Gentleman sent upon this Errand, was past the *Pyrenees*, when he was overtaken by the News of CROMWELL'S Death; whereupon MAZARIN, having not only lost his strongest Support in *Flanders*, but observ'd how that Design would never be serv'd by any Measures he could take in *England*, however it should be Govern'd, by the most Legal or most usurp'd Powers, He resolv'd upon a Peace with *Spain*; and made it at the *Pyrenees*, against the general Sense, both of the chief Persons in the Court and

and the Army, but particularly against the Instances of Monsieur DE TURENNE, who engag'd himself to Conquer all that was left of *Flanders* in Two Campaigns more : But some Domestick Reasons prevail'd with the Cardinal ; besides his Age and great Infirmities, which ended his Life not long after the Peace was made.

THE present King, left in full Peace with all his Neighbours, in the Flower of his Youth, and instructed in the School of so able a Minister, began to pursue the great Design, by the Three Paces most necessary to Advance it ; which were, The wise Management of his Revenue, and heaping up a Mass of Treasure ; The Encrease of his Naval Force, by building many
great

great Ships, and buying others from the *Dutch*; And by the Purchase of *Dunkirk* in the Year 1662, without which he could not have aspir'd to the Conquest of *Flanders*, or to his Greatness at Sea; having no other Haven upon the Channel: After this, by fomenting on both Sides the Seeds of Dissention between us and the *Dutch*, which were sprung from other cover'd Roots. He saw us engag'd in a War with *Holland* in 1665; and with such Honour and Successes, that the *Dutch* would soon have been forc'd to a Peace, had not *France* first assisted them at Land, against the Bishop of *Munster*; and then declar'd War against us, and set out his Fleet for Assisting the *Dutch*. (This made the War more equally Ballanc'd, and thereby last; till *France* taking Advantage
at

at our Division, invaded *Flanders*; and by a Surprise of the unprepar'd *Spaniards*, in Two Campaigns carry'd the most considerable Frontier Places on both Sides, as *Douay*, *Lisle*, *Tournay*, on the one Side; *Charleroy* and *Aeth* on the other; by which they left the rest of *Flanders* at the Mercy of another Campaign. The *Dutch* were alarm'd at these Successes of so mighty a Neighbour so near their own Doors; and We were spighted at the *French* having declar'd War against us, in Favour of *Holland*, contrary to our Expectations; and both together contributed to the Peace at *Breda* in the end of the Year 1667, and to our Leagues with *Holland*, with the Triple Alliance in 1668, for Defence of the *Spanish Netherlands*. Upon our Peace with *Holland*, *France* stopp'd their
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Career in *Flanders*, and made Overtures of Peace with *Spain*; by the offer of an Alternative, either to retain their Conquests in *Flanders*, or else the whole County of *Burgundy*. We and *Holland* forc'd *Spain* to accept one of them; and the *Spaniards* spighted at this Hardship upon them, from Neighbours who they thought had as much Interest as they to preserve *Flanders*, chose the worst, which was to leave the Frontier of *Flanders* in the *French* Hands; on purpose to give Us and *Holland* the greater Jealousie of *France*, and in Hopes thereby to Engage us all in a War with that Crown. And upon these Terms the Peace was made at *Aix la Chapelle* in 1668.

AFTER this, *France* turn'd all their Counsels to break the Measures between Us and *Holland*, which gave a Stop to their great Design. The *Dutch* were Stanch ; but we gave Way by the Corruption of our Ministers, and the *French* Practices upon the Dispositions of our Court ; which at length engag'd us in a joynt War of both Crowns upon *Holland* in 1672, to the Amazement of all Men, both Abroad and at Home, and almost to the utter Ruin of that State ; Till the Empire and *Spain*, rows'd by the Danger of *Holland*, which must have ended in that of *Flanders* and all the *German* Provinces on this Side the *Rhine*, enter'd boldly into the War, for the Assistance of the *Dutch* ; which gave them some Breath, and car-

carry'd the Scene of the War into *Flanders* and *Germany*. At the same Time, the Discontents of the People and Parliament at the War; and the Necessity of declaring it against *Spain* as well as *Holland*, if we continu'd longer in it; prevail'd with the King to make a seperate Peace with *Holland* in 1673, and to offer his Mediation to all the Parties engag'd in the War; which ended in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, and at last in a Peace there, concluded in 1678: Whereby a Frontier was left to the *Spanish Netherlands* on the *Brabant* Side, by Restitution of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, to satisfy the *Dutch*: But all that remain'd on the Side of *Flanders* after the Peace of *Aix*, as *Cambray*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, with many others taken by *France* in the last War, were by this Treaty

ty left in their Possession; besides great Pretences by Dependencies, both in *Flanders* and *Alsace*; so as *Flanders* was left at their Mercy, whenever We or *Holland* should Abandon its Defence. And, finding both Nations in general but too sensible of our Interest on that Side, the Councils of *France* began new Practices upon our Court; wherein they were Encourag'd by our Factions, and the Necessities of Money into which they had drawn the King.

T H E S E were the Progresses which *France* had made in their great Design, by Two Wars and Two General Treaties of Peace; whereof that at *Nimeguen* seem'd more Victorious than their Arms had been. But they had made another,
yet

yet more Important than either, by their Practices upon the Elector and Chapter of *Cologne*, having gain'd the Majority of Voices there for the Succession of Prince WILLIAM of FURSTEMBURG to that Principality, whenever the present Elector should fail, who is Old and Infirm, and has for some Years past deceiv'd the World by living so long. Prince WILLIAM, though a *German*, yet having long Devoted himself to the *French* Interests, and been Refuged and Supported by that Crown against the Indignation and Revenge of the Emperor, is as much a *French-man* as any Bishop of that Kingdom; so as whenever he comes to the Electorate, *France* will be absolute Master of that Principality; and thereby cast Shackles, not only upon the o-

ther Princes of the *Rhine*, but upon *Holland* too, both by cutting off their Trade upon the *Rhine*, and by Bordering upon their inland Provinces, which are most Expos'd and hard to be Defended : 'Tis said, he is likewise assur'd of the Chapter of *Liege*, in Favour of the same Prince ; which if true, and this Principality fall likewise under the same Dominion, upon the Death of the present Elector, *France* will then surround the Frontiers of *Brabant*, and cut off all Commerce, or Means of Defence, between them and LUXEMBOURG ; that they will not have above the Work of one Campaign to draw the Net over the rest of *Flanders*, and reduce all the great Cities there ; After which, the rest must follow, and thereby *Holland* be left to

to take what Measures they can with *France*, and become at best a Maritime Province to that Crown; tho', perhaps, under the Name of a Free State (for fear of Dispeopling their Country), but with such Dependance as will leave *France* the Use both of their Ships and Money, upon Occasion, in other Parts. Whenever this happens, what Condition *England* will be left in, upon such an Encrease of the *French* Territory, and Land- as well as Naval- Power, is easy to Conjecture, but hard how it can be prevented, otherwise than by our vigorous Conjunction of Counsels, as well as Interests, with all the late Confederates; and by a firm Union between the Court and the Nation upon one common Bottom, both at Home and Abroad, and chiefly for the

Preservation of *Flanders* against the *French* Designs.

I easily discover'd how fit a Posture we were in to engage in such Resolutions. The Nation divided into Two strong Factions with the greatest Heats and Animosities, and ready to break out into Violence upon the first Occasion. The Heads on both Sides desiring it, as grown past all Temper or Composure. The King involv'd in such Necessities and Disorders of his Revenue, as, if he could not hope Supplies from Parliaments, would throw him upon seeking them from *France*; which would end in such Measures with that Crown, as would leave them at Liberty to pursue their great Design by new Attempts upon their Neighbours; who without the Support

port of *England*, must give Way, either by weak Defences, or submissive Treaties.

UPON the Survey of all these Circumstances, Conjunctions, and Dispositions, both at Home and Abroad, I concluded in cold Blood, That I could be of no further Use or Service to the King my Master, and my Country, whose true Interests I always thought were the same, and would be both in Danger when they came to be divided, and for that Reason had ever endeavour'd the Uniting them; And had compass'd it, if the Passions of some few Men had not lain fatally in the Way, so as to raise Difficulties that I saw plainly were never to be surmounted. Therefore upon the whole, I took that firm Resolu-

tion, in the End of the Year 1680, and the Interval between the *Westminster* and *Oxford* Parliaments, never to charge my self more with any publick Employments; but retiring wholly to a private Life, in that Posture take my Fortune with my Country, whatever it should prove: Which as no Man can judge, in the Variety of Accidents that attend Humane Affairs; and the Chances of every Day, to which the greatest Lives, as well as Actions are Subject; so I shall not trouble my self so much as to Conjecture: *Fata viam inveni-*
ant.

BESIDES all these publick Circumstances; I consider'd my self in my own Humour Temper and Dispositions, which a Man may Disguise to others, though

though very hardly, but cannot to himself. I had learn'd by living long in Courts and publick Affairs, that I was fit to live no longer in either. I found, the Arts of a Court were Contrary to the Franckness and Openness of my Nature; and the Constraints of publick Business too great for the Liberty of my Humour and my Life. The common and proper Ends of Both, are, the Advancement of Mens Fortunes; and That I never minded; having as much as I needed, and which is more, as I desired. The Talent of gaining Riches, I ever despis'd; as observing it to belong to the most despicable Men in other Kinds: And I had the Occasions of it so often in my Way, if I would have made Use of them, that I grew to Disdain them; as a Man
does

does Meat that he has always before him. Therefore, I never could go to Service for nothing but Wages, nor endure to be Fetter'd in Business when I thought it was to no purpose. I knew very well, the Arts of a Court, are, to talk the present Language, to serve the present Turn, and to follow the present Humour of the Prince, whatever it is: Of all these I found my self so incapable, that I could not talk a Language I did not mean, nor serve a Turn I did not like, nor follow any Man's Humour wholly against my own. Besides, I have had in Twenty Years Experience, enough of the Uncertainty of Princes, the Caprices of Fortune, the Corruption of Ministers, the Violence of Factions, the Unsteddyness of Counsels, and

and the Infidelity of Friends ;
Nor do I think the rest of my
Life enough to make any new
Experiments.

FOR the Ease of my own
Life, if I know my self, it will
be infinitely more in the re-
tir'd, than it has been in the bu-
sie Scene: For no good Man
can with any Satisfaction, take
part in the Divisions of his
Country, that knows and con-
siders, as I do, what they have
cost *Athens, Rome, Constantinople,*
Florence, Germany, France and
England. Nor can the wisest Man
foresee how ours will end, or
what they are like to cost the
rest of Christendom as well as
our selves. I never had but
Two Aims in publick Affairs ;
One, to see the King great, as
he may be by the Hearts of his
Peo-

People, without which I know not how he can be great by the Constitutions of this Kingdom: The other, in case our Factions must last, yet to see a Revenue Establish'd for the constant maintaining a Fleet of Fifty Men of War, at Sea or in Harbour, and the Seamen in constant Pay; which would be at least our Safety from Abroad, and make the Crown still consider'd in any Foreign Alliances, whether the King and His Parliaments should agree or not in undertaking any great or National War. And such an Establishment I was in Hopes the last Parliament at *Westminster* might have agreed in with the King, by adding so much of a new Fund to Three Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year out of the present Customs. But these have both fail'd, and I
am

am content to have fail'd with them.

A N D so I take Leave of all those Airy Visions which have so long busied my Head about Mending the World ; and at the same Time, of all those shining Toys or Follies that employ the Thoughts of Busie Men : And shall turn mine wholly to Mend my self ; and, as far as consists with a private Condition, still pursuing that old and excellent Counsel of PYTHAGORAS, that *we are, with all the Cares and Endeavours of our Lives, to avoid Diseases in the Body, Perturbations in the Mind, Luxury in Dyet, Factions in the House, and Seditions in the State.*

The E N D.

MEMORANDUM

and content to have failed with
them.

And so I take Leave of all
those airy Visions which have so
long busied my Head about
Mending the World; and at the
same Time, of all those shining
Towns or Policies that employ the
Thoughts of Men: And
shall now mind to Mend
my self; and as consists
with a private Condition, still pur-
suing that old and excellent Coun-
sel of PYTHAGORAS, that we are
with all the Care and Endeavours of
our Lives, to avoid Disorders in the
Body, Perturbations in the Mind, Incon-
sistency in our Words, Faction in the House,
and Sedition in the State.

The END.



76
X I C M 3 9 9 A 1
Order the Lord Chancellor of England
to send to the Lord of the Treasury
the following

The A P P E N D I X:
Containing the Pieces
referr'd to in these Me-
moirs.

*A Declaration relating to the Estab-
lishment of the New Privy Council,
mention'd Page 21.*

At the Court at *Whitehall*,
the 21st of *April* 1679.

P R E S E N T.

The KING's most Excel-
lent Majesty in Council.

HIS Majesty having Caus'd the
Privy Council to Meet Yesterday
Extraordinary, was then pleas'd to
Or-

2 A P P E N D I X.

Order the Lord Chancellour of England to Read to them the following Declaration.

My Lords,

HIS Majesty hath call'd You together at this Time, to Communicate unto You a Resolution he hath taken, in a Matter of great Importance to His Crown and Government: And which He hopes will prove of the greatest Satisfaction and Advantage to His Kingdoms, in all Affairs hereafter, both at Home and Abroad; And therefore He doubts not of your Approbation, however you may seem concern'd in it.

IN the first Place, His Majesty gives you all Thanks for your Service to Him here; And for all the good Advices you have
given

given him; which might have been more frequent, if the great Number of this Council had not made it unfit for the Secrecy and Dispatch that are necessary in many great Affairs. This forc'd him to use a smaller Number of you in a Foreign Committee; and sometimes the Advices of some few among them (upon such Occasions) for many Years past. He is sorry for the ill Success he has found in this Course, and sensible of the ill Posture of Affairs from That and some unhappy Accidents, which have rais'd great Jealousies and Dissatisfaction among His good Subjects; and thereby left the Crown and Government in a Condition too weak for those Dangers we have Reason to fear, both at Home and Abroad.

N THESE

4 APPENDIX.

THESE His Majesty hopes may be yet prevented, by a Course of Wise and Steady Counsels for the future; and these Kingdoms grow again to make such a Figure as they formerly have done in the World; and as they may always do, if our Union and Conduct were equal to our Force. To this End, he hath resolv'd to lay aside the Use he may have hitherto made of any single Ministry, or private Advices, or Foreign Committees, for the general Direction of His Affairs: And to Constitute such a Privy Council, as may not only by its Number be fit for the Consultation and Digestion of all Business, both Domestick and Foreign; but also by the Choice of them, out of the several Parts this State is Compos'd of, may be

A P P E N D I X. 5

be the best inform'd in the true Constitutions of it, and thereby the most able to counsel Him in all the Affairs and Interests of this Crown and Nation. And by the constant Advice of such a Council, His Majesty is resolv'd hereafter to govern His Kingdoms ; together with the frequent Use of His great Council of Parliament, which he takes to be the true Antient Constitution of this State and Government.

NOW for the greater Dignity of this Council, His Majesty resolves their constant Number shall be limited to Thirty ; And for their greater Authority, there shall be Fifteen of His chief Officers, who shall be Privy Counsellors by their Places ; And for the other Fifteen, he will choose Ten out of the several Ranks of

6 A P P E N D I X.

the Nobility ; and Five Commomers of the Realm ; whose known Abilities, Interest and Esteem in the Nation, shall render them without all Suspicion of either Mistaking or Betraying the true Interest of the Kingdom, and consequently of Advising him Ill.

IN the First Place therefore, and to take Care of the Church, His Majesty will have the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Bishop of *London*, for the Time being. And to inform him well in what concerns the Laws, the Lord Chancellour, and one of the Lord Chief Justices. For the Navy and Stores (wherein consists the Chief Strength and Safety of the Kingdom) the Admiral and Master of the Ordnance. For the Treasury, the Treasurer
and

and Chancellour of the Exchequer (or whenever any of these Charges are in Commission, then the first Commissioner to serve here in their Room), The rest of the Fifteen shall be the Lord Privy Seal, the Master of the Horse, Lord Steward, and Lord Chamberlain of His Household, the Groom of the Stole, and the Two Secretaries of State: And these shall be all the Offices of His Kingdom, to which the Dignity of a Privy-Counsellor shall be Annex'd. The others His Majesty has resolv'd, and hopes he has not chosen ill. His Majesty intends besides, to have such Princes of His Blood as he shall at any time call to this Board, being here in Court: A President of the Council, whenever he shall find it necessary: And the Secretary of Scotland,

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when any such shall be here. But these being uncertain, he reckons not of the constant Number of Thirty, which shall never be exceeded.

TO make way for this New Council, His Majesty hath now resolv'd to Dissolve this Old One; And does hereby dissolve it, and from this time excuses your further Attendance here: But with his repeated Thanks for your Service hitherto, and with the Assurance of His Satisfaction in You, so far that He should not have parted with You, but to make Way for this New Constitution, which he takes to be, as to the Number and Choice, the most Proper and Necessary for the Uses he intends them. And as most of You have Offices in His Service, and all of You particular

A P P E N D I X. 9

lar Shares in His Favour and good Opinion ; so He desires You will continue to Exercise, and Deserve them, with the same Diligence and good Affections that You have hitherto done ; and with Confidence of His Majesty's Kindness to You, and of those Testimonies you shall receive of it upon other Occasions.

T H E R E F O R E, upon the present Dissolution of this Council, His Majesty Appoints and Commands all those Officers he hath Named, to attend Him here to Morrow at Nine in the Morning, as His Privy-Council ; together with those other Persons he designs to make up the Number, and to each of whom he has already Signed particular Letters to that Purpose ; and Commands the Lord Chancellour to see them

10 A P P E N D I X.

Issued out accordingly; Which is the Form He intends to use, and that hereafter they shall be Signed in Council, so that nothing may be done unadvisedly in the Choice of any Person, to a Charge of so great Dignity and Importance to the Kingdom.

A N D in pursuance thereof, His Majesty did this Day declare, That he had made Choice of the several Persons hereafter Named, to be of his Privy-Council.

The

*The NAMES of the
Lords of His Majesty's
most Honourable Privy-
Council.*

HIS Highness Prince Ru-
pert.

Dr. William Sancroft, Lord Arch-
Bishop of Canterbury.

Heneage Lord Finch, Lord Chancel-
lour of England.

Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord
President of the Council.

Arthur Earl of Anglesey, Lord
Privy Seal.

Christopher Duke of Albemarle.

James Duke of Monmouth, Master
of the Horse.

Henry Duke of New-Castle.

John Duke of Lauderdale, Secre-
tary of State for Scotland.

James

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*James Duke of Ormond, Lord
Steward of the Household.*

*Charles Lord Marquess of Win-
chester.*

*Henry Lord Marquess of Wor-
cester.*

*Henry Earl of Arlington, Lord
Chamberlain of the House-
hold.*

James Earl of Salisbury.

John Earl of Bridgewater.

*Robert Earl of Sunderland, one
of His Majesty's Principal Se-
cretaries of State.*

*Arthur Earl of Essex, first Lord
Commissioner of the Treasu-
ry.*

*John Earl of Bath, Groom of the
Stole.*

*Thomas Lord Viscount Falcon-
berg.*

George Lord Viscount Hallifax.

Henry Lord Bishop of London.

John Lord Roberts.

Den-

Denzil Lord Hollis.

William Lord Russel.

William Lord Cavendish.

Henry Coventry Esq; one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Sir Francis North, Kt. Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas.

Sir Henry Capell, Kt. of the Bath, first Commissioner of the Admiralty.

Sir John Ernley, Kt. Chancellour of the Exchequer.

Sir Thomas Chicheley, Kt. Master of the Ordnance.

Sir William Temple, Baronet.

Edward Seymour, Esq;

Henry Powle, Esq;

AND His Majesty commanded such of them as were then present, to be Sworn, and to take their Places at the Board accordingly.

THE

THE Right Honourable
 ANTHONY Earl of SHAFTS-
 BURY, who was by His Majesty's
 Special Command Sworn Lord
 President of His Majesty's most
 Honourable Privy Council, took
 his Place at the Board according-
 ly.

HIS Majesty was this Day
 also pleased to declare, that he in-
 tended to make

Sir *Henry Capell*, Kt. of the Bath.
Daniel Finch, Esq;

Sir *Thomas Lee*, Baronet.

Sir *Humphrey Winch*, Baronet.

Sir *Thomas Meers*, Baronet.

Edward Vaughan, Esq;

Edward Hales, Esq;

Commissioners, for the Executi-
 on of the Office of Lord High
 Admiral of *England*, who shall
 only attend that Business.

HIS

HIS Majesty was also pleas'd to Declare, that he would have all his Affairs here Debated freely, of what kind soever they were ; and therefore absolute Secrecy.

HIS Majesty was also pleas'd to Declare, That he would communicate this Alteration of the Council unto both Houses of Parliament in a few Words.

THE Expedients mention'd by the Author in Page 34 and some other Parts of these Memoirs, met no Success in the House of Commons ; who upon the Bill of Exclusion being thrown out by the Lords, had several other Expedients offer'd them by some of their own Members, but

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but could not fix upon any that were thought Sufficient. One Expedient was, to have a Bill brought in for the Association of all His Majesty's Protestant Subjects: Another was, a Bill for the Banishment of all considerable Papists out of *England*: A Third, for securing frequent Parliaments. It was likewise propos'd, that the Prince of ORANGE should be joyn'd in the Administration with the Duke, upon his coming to the Crown: With several other Schemes, which all prov'd Abortive: So that the the House of Commons began to Reassume the Thoughts of the Bill of Exclusion; to which End they presented an Address, *December 15, 1680.* The King's Message in Answer to this Address, *January 4, 1680-1.* was that which the Author was commanded

manded to carry to the House as he tells us Page 130. And because it may give the Reader some Light into the Affairs and Dispositions of those Times, the Address and the King's Answer are here subjoyn'd.

The Humble ADDRESS of the House of Commons presented to His Majesty, in Answer to His Majesty's Gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, upon the Fifteenth Day of December, 1680.

May it please your most Excellent Majesty,

WE Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament Assembled, have taken into our serious Consideration,

tion, Your Majesty's Gracious Speech to both Your Houses of Parliament, on the Fifteenth of this Instant *December*; and do with all the grateful Sense of Faithful Subjects, and sincere Protestants, acknowledge Your Majesty's great Goodness to Us, in renewing the Assurances You have been pleased to give us of your readiness to concur with us in any Means for the Security of the Protestant Religion, and Your Gracious Invitation of us to make our Desires known to Your Majesty.

B U T with Grief of Heart we cannot but observe, that to these Princely Offers, Your Majesty has been advis'd (by what secret Enemies to Your Majesty and Your People, we know not) to Annex a Reservation, which
if

if insisted on, in the Instance to which alone it is Applicable, will render all Your Majesty's other Gracious Inclinations of no Effect or Advantage to us. Your Majesty is pleased thus to limit Your Promise of concurrence in the Remedies which shall be proposed, that they may consist with preserving the Succession of the Crown in its due and legal Course of Descent: And we do humbly inform Your Majesty, that no Interruption of that Descent has been endeavour'd by us, except only the Descent upon the Person of the Duke of YORK, who, by the wicked Instruments of the Church of *Rome*, has been manifestly Perverted to their Religion. And we do humbly represent to Your Majesty, as the Issue of our most deliberate

O

Thoughts

Thoughts and Consultations, that for the Papists to have their Hopes continued, that a Prince of that Religion shall succeed in the Throne of these Kingdoms, is utterly inconsistent with the Safety of Your Majesty's Person, the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Prosperity, Peace, and Welfare, of Your Protestant Subjects.

T H A T Your Majesty's Sacred Life is in continual Danger, under the Prospect of a Popish Successor, is evident, not only from the Principles of those Devoted to the Church of Rome, which allow that an Heretical Prince (and such they term all Protestant Princes) Excommunicated and Deposed by the Pope, may be Destroy'd and Murder'd; but also from the Testimonies given in the Prosecution
of

of the horrid *Popish Plot*, against divers Traitors attainted for designing to put those accursed Principles into Practice against Your Majesty.

FROM the expectation of this Succession, has the Number of Papists in Your Majesty's Dominions so much increased within these few Years, and so many been prevail'd with to Desert the true Protestant Religion, that they might be prepar'd for the Favours of a *Popish* Prince, as soon as he should come to the Possession of the Crown: And while the same Expectation lasts, many more will be in the same Danger of being perverted.

THIS it is that has harden'd the *Papists* of this Kingdom, Animated and Confederated by their *Priests* and *Jesuits*, to

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make a common Purse, provide Arms, make Application to Foreign Princes, and sollicite their Aid, for imposing Popery upon us ; and all this even during Your Majesty's Reign, and while Your Majesty's Government and the Laws were our Protection.

IT is Your Majesty's Glory and true Interest, to be the Head and Protector of all *Protestants*, as well Abroad as at Home : But if these Hopes remain, what Alliances can be made for the Advantage of the Protestant Religion and Interest, which shall give Confidence to Your Majesties Allies, to joyn so vigorously with Your Majesty, as the State of that Interest in the World now requires, while they see this Protestant Kingdom in so much Danger of a Po-

Popish Successor; by whom at the present, all their Councils and Actions may be eluded, as hitherto they have been, and by whom, (if he should succeed) they are sure to be destroy'd?

WE have thus humbly laid before Your Majesty, some of those great Dangers and Mischiefs which evidently accompany the Expectation of a Popish Successor; the certain and unspeakable Evils which will come upon Your Majesty's Protestant Subjects and their Posterity, if such a Prince should Inherit, are more also than we can well Enumerate.

OUR Religion, which is now so dangerously shaken, will then be totally overthrown; nothing will be left, or can be found, to Protect or Defend it.

THE Execution of old Laws must cease, and it will be vain to expect new Ones. The most sacred Obligations of Contracts and Promises (if any should be given) that shall be judged to be against the Interest of the Romish Religion, will be violated; as is undeniable, not only from Argument and Experience elsewhere, but from the sad Experience this Nation once had on the like Occasion.

IN the Reign of such a Prince, the Pope will be acknowledg'd Supream (though the Subjects of this Kingdom have Sworn the contrary) and all Causes, either as Spiritual, or in order to Spiritual Things, will be brought under his Jurisdiction.

THE Lives, Liberties, and Estates of all such Protestants, as value their Souls and their Religion

gion more than their secular Concernments, will be adjudged Forfeited.

TO all this we might add, That it appears in the Discovery of the Plot, that Foreign Princes were invited to Assist in securing the Crown to the Duke of YORK; with Arguments from his great Zeal to establish Popery, and to Extirpate Protestants (whom they call Hereticks) out of his Dominions; and such will expect Performance accordingly.

WE further humbly beseech Your Majesty, in Your great Wisdom to consider, Whether in Case the Imperial Crown of this Protestant Kingdom should descend to the Duke of YORK, the opposition which may possibly be made to his possessing it, may not only endanger the

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farther Descent in the Royal Line, but even Monarchy it self.

For these Reasons, we are most humble Petitioners to Your most Sacred Majesty, That in tender Commiseration of Your poor Protestant People, Your Majesty will be graciously pleas'd to depart from the Reservation in your said Speech; and when a Bill shall be tendred to Your Majesty, in a Parliamentary way, to disable the Duke of Y O R K from inheriting the Crown, Your Majesty will give Your Royal Assent thereto; and, as necessary to fortify and defend the same, that Your Majesty will likewise be graciously pleased to Assent to an Act whereby Your Majesty's Protestant Subjects may be enabled to Associate themselves for the Defence of Your Majesty's

jeſty's Perſon, the Proteſtant Religion, and the Security of Your Kingdoms.

THESE Requeſts we are conſtrain'd humbly to make to Your Maſteſty, as of abſolute Neceſſity, for the ſafe and peaceable Enjoyment of our Religion.

WITHOUT theſe Things, the Alliances of *England* will not be Valuable, nor the People Encourag'd to Contribute to Your Maſteſty's Service.

AS ſome farther Means for the preſervation both of our Religion and Property, We are humble Suiters to Your Maſteſty, that from henceforth ſuch Perſons only may be Judges within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, as are Men of Ability, Integrity, and known Affection to the Proteſtant Religion.

ligion. And that they may hold both their Offices and Sallaries, *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*. That (several Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, fitly qualified for those Employments, having been of late Displaced, and others put in their Room who are Men of Arbitrary Principles, and Countenancers of Papists and Popery) such only may bear the Office of a Lord-Lieutenant as are Persons of Integrity and known Affection to the Protestant Religion. That Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace may be also so qualified, and may be moreover Men of Ability, of Estates, and Interest in their Country.

THAT none may be employ'd as Military Officer, or Officers in Your Majesty's Fleet, but Men of known Experience,
Cou-

Courage, and Affection to the Protestant Religion.

THESE our humble Requests being Obtained, we shall on our part be ready to Assist Your Majesty for the Preservation of *Tangier*, and for putting your Majesty's Fleet into such a Condition, as it may preserve Your Majesty's Sovereignty of the Seas, and be for the Defence of the Nation.

IF Your Majesty hath or shall make any necessary Alliances for Defence of the Protestant Religion, and Interest and Security of this Kingdom, this House will be ready to Assist and Stand by Your Majesty in the Support of the same.

AFTER this our Humble Answer to Your Majesty's Gracious Speech, we hope no evil Instruments whatsoever shall be able

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able to lessen Your Majesty's Esteem of that Fidelity and Affection we bear to Your Majesty's Service ; but that Your Majesty will always retain in Your Royal Breast, that favourable Opinion of us Your Loyal Commons, that those other good Bills which we have now under Consideration, conducing to the Great Ends we have before mention'd ; as also all Laws for the Benefit and Comfort of Your People, which shall from Time to Time be tendred for Your Majesty's Royal Assent ; shall find Acceptance with Your Majesty.

His

*His Majesty's Gracious
Message to the Commons
in Parliament, Janua-
ry 4. 168^o.*

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty receiv'd the Address of this House, with all the Disposition they could wish to comply with Their reasonable Desires; but upon perusing it, He is sorry to see Their Thoughts so wholly fix'd upon the Bill of Exclusion, as to determine that all other Remedies for the suppressing of Popery will be ineffectual: His Majesty is confirm'd in his Opinion against that Bill, by the Judgment of the House of Lords, who rejected it. He therefore
thinks

thinks there remains nothing more for Him to say in Answer to the Address of this House, but to recommend to **Them** the Consideration of all other Means for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion ; in which they have no Reason to doubt of His Concurrence, whenever they shall be presented to him in a Parliamentary Way ; And that they would consider the present State of the Kingdom, as well as the Condition of Christendom, in such a Manner, as may enable Him to preserve *Tangier*, and secure His Alliances Abroad, and the Peace and Settlement at Home.

‘BUT this Answer of the **‘King’s** was so far from giving **‘Satisfaction**, that the same Day **‘it**

L

A P P E N D I X. 33

‘ it was Read in the House, af-
 ‘ ter long Debate, and a Despair
 ‘ of any effectual Expedients, the
 ‘ Commons came to the follow-
 ‘ ing Resolutions.

Resolv’d, That it is the Opini-
 on of this House, that there is
 no Security nor Safety for the
 Protestant Religion, the King’s
 Life, or Government of this Na-
 tion, without passing a Bill for
 disabling J A M E S Duke of
 Y O R K to inherit the Imperial
 Crown of this Realm, and Do-
 minions and Territories there-
 unto belonging ; and to rely up-
 on any other Means and Reme-
 dies without such a Bill, is not
 only Insufficient, but Danger-
 ous.

Resolv’d, That His Majesty in
 his last Message, having assur’d
 this

this House of his readiness to con-
 cur in all other Means for the
 preservation of the Protestant Re-
 ligion, this House doth declare,
 That until a Bill be likewise pass'd
 for excluding the Duke of YORK,
 this House cannot give any Sup-
 ply to His Majesty, without Dan-
 ger to His Majesty's Person, ex-
 trem Hazard of the Protestant
 Religion, and Unfaithfulness to
 those by whom this House is
 entrusted.

‘ THESE Resolutions were
 ‘ follow'd by Votes of Addresses
 ‘ against several Persons; and the
 ‘ Heats still encreasing in the House
 ‘ of Commons, the King Three
 ‘ Days after first Prorogued the
 ‘ Parliament, and the next Week
 ‘ Dissolv'd it by Proclamation.

‘ Page 119. Sir WILLIAM JONES was reputed one of the best Speakers in the House, and was very Zealous in his Endeavours for promoting the Bill of Exclusion. He was a Person of great Piety and Virtue, and having taken an Affection to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, was sorry to see him employ’d in the Delivery of so unacceptable a Message to the House: The Substance of what he said to the Author upon it was this ; That *for Himself he was Old and Infirm, and expected to Die soon : But you, said he, will in all probability live to see the whole Kingdom Lament the Consequences of this Message you have now brought Us from the King.*

‘ Page 128. What the Author spoke in the House, does not only relate to the Business of
P Tan-

Tangier, but likewise to the Bill of Exclusion, which was then newly thrown out by the Lords. I shew'd the Speech to the Author, who as far as his Memory could serve him, allow'd it to be fairly taken. I think it very worthy of the Author, though it appears to have been wholly unpremeditate. And since Part of it relates to some Passages in the Memoirs, it may be convenient to insert it here.

Mr. Speaker,

THIS Debate hath more of Weight in it, than the Business of *Tangier*, I think. As Affairs now stand, the most part of Christendom is concern'd in it, I am sure all the Protestants: And therefore, I hope, your Patience will hold out,

out, to have the whole Circumstances of it fairly Examind: For the Arguments that have been offer'd in the consideration of this Message, have enlarged the Debate further than was at first intended, and have brought the whole State of the Nation, in some Measure, before you, instead of that one particular Business of *Tangier*; so that now what Resolve you make will be a Discovery of your Inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a Supply for *Tangier*, but as to giving Money for Alliances and all other Occasions; upon which Result the good or bad Success of this Parliament doth depend. As to *Tangier*, I do agree with that worthy Member that spoke before, (though many are of a different Opini-

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on) that it is not of any great Use to us upon the account of any Advantage we shall make by it. But however, I think it is very well worth our keeping; because of the Disadvantages we should receive by it, if it should fall into the Hands either of the Turk or Spaniard, but especially the French; who will not only be thereby enabled to Fetter us, as to our Trade in the *Levant*, but to curb also all other Nations whatsoever; and be such an Addition to the too great Power he hath acquir'd, both by Sea and Land already, that I am of Opinion, we ought to be very Cautious how we weaken the Security we now have, that it shall not fall into his Hands. But if the Mole and the Town could be blown into the Air, or otherwise reduced

ced into its first Chaos, I think, considering the Charge it will cost keeping, *England* would not be much the worse for it; but to move you to consider any thing about that, at this time, cannot be proper, because the Moors have so Besieg'd it, that the first thing that must be done, whether in order to keep it or destroy it, is, to beat them off, by some speedy Supplies which must be presently sent; or else the Town, according to the best Information come from thence, is like to be lost. And, Sir, I think this single Consideration may be perswasive to move you to give some such Supply as may be precisely necessary for the Defence and Protection of this Place. A small Sum of Money, in comparison of what this House hath formerly given, may

be sufficient to satisfie His Majesty's Expectation, and secure the Place too. But I must confess, Sir, it is not the Consideration of *Tangier* that makes me press you to it; but the deplorable State of the Protestants Abroad. Sir, I have had the Honour to serve His Majesty in some publick Employments, and by that Means may be a little more sensible of the State of Affairs, in Reference to our Neighbours, than others may be; having not only had the Advantage of Information, but was under a Necessity of using my best Endeavours to get a true Account of them. Sir, I am Confident the Eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament; and not only the Protestants Abroad, but many Catholick Countries (who stand in Fear of the Power of France)

do

do think themselves as much concern'd in the Success of this Parliament, as this House; and will be as much perplex'd to hear any ill News thereof. This, Sir, as well as the Necessities of our Affairs at Home, make me trouble you at this time, to desire you to be careful what you do, that we may not occasion in His Majesty any dislike to this House. Whatever you do as to the Business of Money for *Tangier*, I pray, Sir, let there be no notice taken in your Address, of the Lords having cast out your Bill, for we have no Reason to think the King was any ways concern'd therein. To throw out a Bill of so great Importance, without a Conference, was in my humble Opinion very Strange, and contrary to the usual Proceedings of

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that

that House. But pray, Sir, let it lie at their Doors that did it, for the King could not be concern'd in a Parliamentary Way. For by this Means we may obviate all Misunderstandings with His Majesty about this Affair, and I hope, create in him a good Opinion of this House, upon which the welfare, not only of this Nation, but of *Europe*, doth much depend.

SIR, His Majesty in his Message puts you in Mind of giving Advice, as well as Money; I think, if we make that Expression the Ground of our Address, we may Naturally graft very good Things thereon, especially what may conduce to the Preservation of a fair Correspondence. Sir, *Though a King alone cannot save a Kingdom, yet a King alone can do very much to*

Ru-

Ruin it ; and though Parliaments alone cannot save this Kingdom, yet Parliaments alone may do much to Ruin it. And therefore we cannot be too Circumspect in what we do. It is our Fortune to sit here in a Critical time, when not only the Affairs of this Nation, but the Protestant Religion Abroad need our Continuance; and for the same Reason we may justly fear that there are those who endeavour to contrive the putting off this Parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any Advantage; and then I doubt not but His Majesty's Care and Goodness, will at last overcome all Difficulties, and bring this Session to a happy Conclusion.

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